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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 November 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Statistics on East European Religious Denominations (UJ EMBER, 7, 21 Oct 84)	1
---	---

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Official Speaks of Continuing Resentment Against Germans (A. Klein; SINN UND FORM, No 5, Sep-Oct 84)	2
---	---

POLAND

PZPR Politburo Theses for 17th Plenum (TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Oct 84)	14
--	----

German Rapprochement Criticized (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 16 Oct 84)	67
---	----

Briefs Agreement With Cuban Delegation	69
---	----

YUGOSLAVIA

Setinc Discusses Role of Slovenian SAWP, Liberal Views (Franc Setinc Interview; BORBA, 13-14 Oct 84)	70
---	----

STATISTICS ON EAST EUROPEAN RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

[Editorial Report] The following material about East European religious denominations is not normally available in the publications of many of the countries identified. It was published in the Hungarian Catholic weekly UJ EMBER, numbers Xl 41 and 43, 7 and 21 October 1984 respectively. A note indicated the source as the yearly report of the United Bible Societies and promised the statistics of particular countries in future issues. The statistics of the East European countries provided so far were as follows:

ALBANIA

Area	28,748 km ²
Population	2,752,300
Yearly population growth	2.2 percent
Those under 15 years of age	41.0 percent
Without religion	55.4 percent
Muslim	20.5 percent
Atheist	18.7 percent
Other	5.4 percent

BULGARIA

Area	110,912 km ²
Population	9,000,000
Yearly population growth	0.7 percent
Those under 15 years of age	26.0 percent
Orthodox	25.6 percent
Roman Catholic	0.5 percent
Protestant	0.4 percent
Not religious	16.2 percent
Muslim	10.6 percent
Atheist	8.6 percent
Jewish	0.1 percent
Other	38.0 percent

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Area	127,869 km ²
Population	15,300,000
Yearly population growth	0.6 percent
Those under 15 years of age	27.0 percent
Roman Catholic	50.4 percent
Protestant	7.1 percent
Orthodox	0.6 percent
Not religious	11.5 percent
Atheist	8.8 percent
Other	21.6 percent

OFFICIAL SPEAKS OF CONTINUING RESENTMENT AGAINST GERMANS

East Berlin SINN UND FORM in German Vol 36 No 5, Sep-Oct 84 pp 987-1002

[Article by A. Klein, chairman of department History of Socialist Literature of the Academy of the Arts: "In this Better Land..."]

[Text] When we look back from here and today at the early GDR literature, we normally and for good reasons see in it the early start of our country's socialist national literature. Yet originally the idea was something different; it was not the idea of two German states with different literary conditions, tasks and subject matters, the idea, after all, was a democratic renewal of Germany and its literature "from the bottom up." Maybe German literature would be a national literature, or maybe not, Johannes R. Becher had written shortly before the war's end. The poet should have a place as a spokesman for the nation and a designer of its fate as never before in Germany. Yet since only a part of German literature had overcome the weaknesses of so-called leftist literature, and thus its features of being emigration literature, he thought it fairly naive and arrogant and willful to assume that the literature that had been burnt in Germany and banished from Germany could become the core of a revitalized national literature. He rather asked for works through which Germany would fashion its own fate, apt to surmount the ominous consequences of the German tragedy and suspend what was evil in what was good in Germany.

These positions became the point of departure for the literary program in the GDR, and one would still hold on to them after it had long become probable that the imperialist partition had made a German reunification on a progressive basis impossible for a long time to come and the authors on either side would be compelled to seek their own ways one way or another. We may of course say the GDR authors after World War II faced again the protracted struggle between progress and reaction and stood on the side of what was good in Germany against the evil. And only the ignorant are likely to deny that even authors across the Werra and Elbe contributed something to the national self-criticism that was asked for. Yet not even both things together, by and large, come down to what Becher and his fellow-combatants had in mind for the whole. Even looked at from the initial situation of the program, we have to understand the 1950's as a disillusioning process, as a process of taking our leave from the grand idea, developed in the antifascist liberation struggle, of a renaissance of a national literature per se. The experience of the split became the last common national experience of German authors, as it were.

But that is not what we want to be talking about here. The following observations rather focus on the contradiction between the overall national literary doctrine and the (social) mission for the GDR authors to take for their creative subject matter the new modes of conduct and thought evolving through the revolutionary changes in East Germany. (Bertolt Brecht: "It is certain: With the great transformation a great time begins for the arts. How great will they be?") That precisely was supposed to bring in a national representation and radiation when Johannes R. Becher, to cite once more the major exponent of the national literary objective, said in the mid-1950's, in a euphoria hardly any longer conceivable, that "our poetic ninth" was already in process, that in the storm and stress of our literature under the workers and farmers power a new German art period had started, an era of new classicism under the auspices of the "International of socialist realism."

That thesis evidently matches the long envisioned task that the GDR should have to become the example for the nation, the model for all Germany. The question arises whether the literary program evolving from it was perhaps not a grand heroic illusion without which our literature would not have become what it happened to become. That national pathos is meant with which we set out for our revolutionary transformations, as Volker Braun expressed it by proudly reversing Klopstock's "They and not we" into "We and not they." Invoking a national mission for the GDR and its literature may have been illusory, unrealistic, even utopian, it yet helped make conceivable the historic magnitude of the construction of socialist social relations in but one part of Germany, the by far smaller part, and provide our literature with a worthy perspective.

Without the appeal to a national conscience and national reason it might not have been possible to capture so many people and recruit them into taking part who in 1945, quite in contrast to 1918, had not even thought of revolution. In recalling the differences between the early November and the later May diachronically, we may perhaps best understand, in its whole range, the program for a fundamental national literary rebirth as a peripheral or partial aspect of the democratic-revolutionary changes. We may doubt, following Louis Fuernberg, if the German people could be made to turn around not rather in confronting Auschwitz and Buchenwald instead of encountering Goethe and Schiller; and it continues to be hard to see why the expressionist challenge to man and mankind could not have had another impact. Still it can hardly be denied that the task was to bridge the immense distance between the necessity for a radical social transformation and the incapability for revolution by the large masses of the German population. Here, in the strategic coupling of revolutionary objectives with an anything but revolutionary situation we probably have to look for the invoking of the national in society and literature. The national spur, hence, as a revolutionary impulse, the revolutionary transformation as a national act. Bertolt Brecht defined this dialectic by saying that the struggle for a new and better way of life and mode of thought was being conducted on behalf of all of Germany, against the sink of bourgeois barbarism and the literature of brazen appeasement and despair. That we should hold on to so that the politicians who are championing the indivisibility do not get the idea they could drive us into the defensive somehow. Certainly, in my view we can then also not say: If the beginnings of our literature, the GDR literature in the 1950's, did not and could not become what it originally was supposed to become, i.e. the

beginning, in principle, of a new phase or stage in all German literature, it had, conversely, not wanted or not should have been what in the end effect it did turn out to be, possibly against its own intent, a literature of the revolutionary transformation of East Germany into a socialist state. Its national thrust cannot be separated from its revolutionary impulse. Ex post facto it actually appears as its best and peculiar part that it managed to understand the transformation of social relations as the only real way to settle German guilt and create works that transmit that change authentically.

Even so: It appears everywhere, directly and indirectly, that the option for socialism at once means an option against developments in the other part of Germany. That has objectively sharpened the constellation of conflict while, in the literary handling of it, it has sometimes possibly even mitigated it. Unless all signs deceive us, the famous and notorious theory (and practice) of lack of conflict has brought it about that the enemies of our revolution in literature sometimes fairly suddenly disappeared. Many an author evaded the thorough confrontation called for by simply letting the antagonist go west (using the *deus ex machina* device in the reverse, as it were). Whatever the case may be: The "divided heavens" above us and the intent for decision within us are probably among the most striking characteristics of early GDR literature, without their always being given enough consideration for their human and literary significance. Yet since this involves not only a turning away, but also a leave-taking, involuntary leave, not last, from relatives, friends, comrades, the so resolutely developed sense of an alternative to the West German restoration in our literature loses its dimension of depth when we underexpose the human tensile test that goes with it. What is expressed by the line "In this better land" (in a very pensive poem by Heinz Czechowski) must not be sacrificed to frivolous superficiality.

Still, change and becoming different are likely to be the overlapping poetic codes in our postwar literary movement, be the individual correlatives to the social transformations spread through narration, internalized lyrically, or presented in dramatic accents. Socialist literature is likely to have designed even earlier images of protagonists becoming different or of changes of entire collectives, and one can probably still run into them today. Yet it seems that they appear in early GDR literature concentratedly, as it were, in a density unprecedented before or after, and that there lies the legacy we have to make use of. This is not saying anything new, certainly. Yet since we have had for some time an extensive overall balance-sheet on literary developments in those years and significant research on the literary life in the 1950's as such, about the personality values our literature has formed and about understanding their functionality, or their functioning in the process both of antifascist-democratic and socialist construction, we should again pay more attention to the uniqueness, irreplaceability and irretrievability of its total output, so we can turn its message, typical of its time, into a productive impulse for solving our current tasks.

In talking about change and becoming different, we are of course not solely concerned with what Anna Seghers presented in a downright classical fashion in her story "Der Mann und sein Name" [The Man and his Name]. Not less, rather more are we intent on the awakening or reawakening of the self-assurance in so-called plain people, the development of their capabilities, incredibly suppressed or abused in the past, and the start of their actual emancipation from the

mechanisms of the exploiter society. This trait--regardless of all subject and topical differences and of the downgrade in literary levels--appears in "Menschen an unserer Seite" [Men on Our Side] and in "Tiefe Furchen" [Deep Furrows]; it characterizes the miners in "Martin Hoop IV" and in "Roheisen" [Crude Iron], it pervades the new poems by Becher, Brecht and Kuba, and is found in the old Jantschowa and in "Katzgraben" [Cat's Moat] in Augusta Wilhelmine Flinz nee Blacha of Bohemian Leipa and in the peasants of Karvenbruch. Also the reports on the challenges to and testing of men in the centers of socialist construction can be read that way.

In no way can this literature be dwindled down to appeals for reconsidering and joining in. It transmits at the same time a more or less differentiated panorama of the 1950's, a social image of the young GDR revealing its builders' circumstances of life and their impulses. It fixes the moment when the training got started for upright strides. The expropriation of the expropriators and the rate of reconstruction did also give rise to ideas of harmony, though, that did not stand up to real development. And to that extent then the picture the GDR drew of itself in its early literature truly seems too simplistic in some respects. Its confidence in a rapid developmental capability of the commonwealth and individual chances for change and development often suggests a naive nursery faith. Still, its equating individual with social changes signals a situation that will never be like that again, nor is it likely that it can be drawn like that again (which is precisely what the recent attention to the 1950's in GDR prose makes all too clear).

On the other hand, terms like "literature of the transition period" suggest the notion that early GDR literature was merely temporary, improvised, "suspended" by later developments, an unfair blanket impression of literary immaturity which then, not last, overshadows even outstanding works. The label "enterprise novel" (or "LPG novel") neither suggests that the exploration of new modes of working and living is involved nor does it give the faintest notion of the vivid sense of starting out and rising in several generations of working people at one, which expresses itself even in the most dilettantish writing exercises. Even columns like "Presentation of the Workers Class" or "Portraits on Rural Innovation" do not much satisfy because they fail to make transparent the emancipation processes behind them and cannot cogently depict what was particular about the early GDR literature. Nor do they, finally, indicate how much the writing interest was fascinated at the time by the working world and working day.

Yet what matters particularly is the unique physiognomy, the specific yield of our literary development from the mid-1940's to the early 1960's. To be able to set up a concrete historic scale of values, we must find out how well early GDR literature succeeded in its peculiar way of reporting on human destinies after the war in tracing some of that which was typical of our revolutionary transformations. The key point seems to be that our authors dealt neither with a hard and fast revolution from below nor with a mere revolution "from above," i.e., neither with a merely administratively executed fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement, let alone a servile attitude toward the Soviet occupation power, nor with an overthrow of the old state machinery out of our own strength. There is something right about Volker Braun's picture of the new August Bebel, put onto his legs by Red Army soldiers.

Granted the fact that our liberation from fascism came from the outside and from others, our literature yet, and especially, indicates that the way into socialism was our own effort, proposed and initiated by the united working class party but successively executed by an increasing number of people who realized that only radical social change could guarantee the "never again." Setting out for an autonomous social responsibility is the big basic theme of early GDR literature, progressively opening up new testing grounds in town and countryside, in schools and universities, is its basic material, and exercising the individual interests in the new human potentials socialism opens up is its basic pitch.

In the early 1960's, the development of the new society our literature asked for and encouraged had already come to the point where Alfred Kurella could reformulate an old emigrants' question. The question was whether the opinion, corroborated time and time again by the intellectual-political bent of officers and enlisted men, was correct that fascism had achieved a total poisoning of the German people--or the others had been correct who held on to the belief that under the surface of the fascist dictatorship the "basic humanistic currents," "the positive traits of the German national character," had ultimately remained untouched. Kurella now was of the opinion that the spread of our revolution, borneby working class ideas and ideals, including the deep transformation of the cultural life, could never have been so fast and successful, if the Nazis had actually been able to destroy the humanistic depth strata within the German people. What must we make of that today? I like to offer the comment here that our research on fascism has indeed assembled cogent evidence for the remarkable range and strength, not to be underrated, of the German resistance but has, it seems to me, not yet fully revealed how deep the fascist madness went and why. In our literature it is not very different: At times our cinema, and more still our television, give the impression the Germans had been a people of resistance fighters. Maybe this is an exaggerated formulation, but it is not groundless. For unless we accept that fanaticism and knuckling under far outweighed the resistance, we not only diminish our own achievements in restitution and reconstruction, we also injure the heroic attitude of those who did in spite of everything resist.

For there is one thing our literature also leaves no doubt about: Without the survivors who in 1945 returned from underground, from concentration camps and from exile, especially without the class-conscious people among them, our revolution would indeed lack its ethical-political legitimacy, in fact, it probably could not have taken place at all. When they showed up as literary figures, they were then, however, at once decorated with the emblem "positive hero," or the author knew of them only by word of mouth and felt the obligation to portray them as mouthpieces for political-ideological manifestos, which they did not deserve for all that. And since there were far too few of them, after the colossal bloodletting the revolutionary workers movement had to suffer, too many of them may have been designed and reconstructed too schematically and not portrayed in a manner with which one could identify. On the other hand, the central position given by our authors from the outset to the men and women of the German resistance unavoidably belongs among the constituent factors of the image of man and society early GDR literature designed. The class-bound determination of the basic humanistic currents Alfred Kurella invoked and the

"positive traits of the German national character" he addressed leave us no other choice but to detect their core in the continuity of our labor movement, preserved against all odds. More succinctly: Not German classical humanism has saved us but, on the contrary, our pioneers were the ones who only made it possible again altogether for us to invoke that humanism.

Germany, that is the concentration camps, fuller than ever, more in jeopardy than ever, Anna Seghers wrote in 1942, and went on to say freedom meant nothing to her if those who could speak and write did not keep mentioning those nameless ones because behind the barbed wire there, after all, the future teachers of Germany were being brought up, under constant threat, in mortal danger, and tested severely enough to "reeducate" German youth. That the literary genealogy of these future teachers of the Germans goes far back is something our history of German literature cannot make quite clear simply because we, as literary historiographers unfortunately always are inclined, following the model of general historiography, to sacrifice overlapping or persistent frames of reference to the specifics of small and minute time frames. Yet one should do the one and not omit the other. Because one thing should be obvious: there is an inner bond that connects the expressionist invocations of the new man and the figures of revolutionary workers in the early novels by Theodor Plivier, Adam Scharrer, Karl Gruenberg, Anna Seghers, Willi Bredel and Rudolf Braune, the poems of the 1920's by Weinert, Becher, Brecht, Tkaczyk and Lorbeer, and further Friedrich Wolf's "Matrosen von Cattaro" [Sailors of Cattaro] and Bertolt Brecht's "Mother" adaptation, finding its continuation, through a straight line, in Bredel's "Die Pruefung" [The Test] and in the "Siebte Kreuz" [Seventh Cross] by Anna Seghers, in the books about the German fighters in Spain, and in Erich Weinert's "Memento Stalingrad."

And immediately after the liberation, the ensemble of proletarian-revolutionary antifascists spreads further in the literature: Werner Eggerath's "Nur ein Mensch" [Just a Man], Friedrich Schlotterbeck's "Je dunkler die Nacht, desto heller die Sterne" [The Darker the Night, the Brighter the Stars] and Guenther Weisenborn's play "Die Illegalen" are enlarging it, and especially Stephan Hermlin's "Die erste Reihe" [The Front Rank] belongs here. Later once again two of the most important novels in this sequence of works follow: Otto Gotsche's "Die Fahne von Kriwoi Rog" [The Flag of Kriwoi Rog] and, a world success much like the "Siebte Kreuz," Bruno Apitz' "Nackt unter Woelfen" [Naked among Wolves]. We should be the last to slight the strength of the weak or the resistance from other circles against Hitler, but should also be the first to know: In Gotsche and Apitz more is meant, these are parables of the tenacity of socialist martyrs in Germany itself who now, after the German November and the debacle of 1933, start fighting again to gain the masses. It is the literary authenticity of these parables only that ultimately confirms the frequently impugned hopes of German exile literature for the other Germany; only they have placed permanently in view that and how antifascist struggle in Germany lasted to the day of liberation and they ultimately stand by the only precept that a new national identity after the crimes of Hitler Germany could be found only if based on the humanistic legacy of the progressive German forces, particularly the proletarian-revolutionary forces--letting, for the rest, our perception of our legacy be (quite properly) as broad and deep as it ought to be.

Invoking the other Germany with the idea that this time at least a part of Germany would become a new Germany rehabilitated the still or once again maligned pioneers of the German revolution. Turned against the paralyzing notion of permanent national misery, it charged such fruitless remorse with the task to find a way out and, by taking part in the construction of the new society, put an end, not only in reflection but in reality, to the deep-seated dogma of eternal recurrence. All this nurtured a literary climate that turned the ethical values produced in the struggle of the German workers class into the substratum of ideas for aesthetic valuation.

Quite similar functions in the literary and social transformation process, as should be added here at once, were fulfilled by, simultaneously or even a bit earlier, going back to subjects and characters of the far distant past: Friedrich Wolf drafts his Thomas Muentzer drama, Hanns Eisler, his controversial Faustus opera, Stephan Hermlin, his "Mansfelder Oratorium"; Johann Gottfried Seume, Georg Forster, Wilhelm Weitling and Georg Buechner are rediscovered; one writes about Karl Marx, August Bebel, Louise Otto-Peters and Clara Zetkin; Willi Bredel and Michael Tschesno-Hell come out with their Thaelmann film; Otto Gotsche expands and deepens his novel "Maerzstuerme" [Storms of March]; Hans Marchwitza writes the second version of "Sturm auf Essen" [Assault on Essen] and Hedda Zinner, her play "Der Teufelskreis" [The Infernal Circle]--through which everything returns to where it had started: the topic of resistance.

Here at the end we find facing, and then again also not facing, each other: the works dedicated to the antifascist struggle, from Willi Bredel's "Die Enkel" [The Grandchildren] and Bodo Uhse's "Die Patrioten" to the already referred to books by Apitz and Gotsche on the one side, from Franz Fuehmann's novels to Dieter Noll's "Die Abenteuer des Werner Holt" and Max Werner Schulz' "Wir sind nicht Staub im Wind" [We Are not Dust Scattered to the Winds], on the other. Taken in their contradictory unity, they represent the fate of the seduced and the non-seduced, the two halves of one world, Germany in two forms, mutually elucidating and illuminating each other, each contained in its opposite but suspended in a third form, the form which the authors, and we along with them, would wish to give the land in which we live. This then had provided the substance out of which the plays, poems and stories about the lifelines and future of men in evolving socialism were shaped.

All in all, we thereby are facing a status report that entitles us to take the history of the creation of GDR literature not only as an alternative to West German literature, but also to define it as a specific German potency for orchestrating the national poliphony in the socialist countries' world of literature. "Restoration and Nonconformism" is the title the authors of the twelfth volume of the History of German Literature give to the section on West German literary developments in the 1950's; "The Emergence of a Socialist National Literature in the GDR" is the title for the section dealing with the parallel period in our country; it could also have been entitled "Revolutionary Social Transformation and the Literary Commitment." A synchronic account starting at this point is likely to find that the more of a distance the two German states, including the social profile of their literatures, are taking from one another, the more GDR literature becomes an equal partner of the literatures of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries. That has been a lengthy, complicated, confidence-building process, still in progress,

because in the public mind on either side, after all, it was not at once the common tradition of the anti-imperialist-antifascist struggle that dominated, but the intricate interrelationship between the victors, challenging and aiding the will for social renewal on the part of the vanquished, and the majority of a people that only after the total defeat of fascism began to break through to progressive conduct.

In melancholy, Rudolf Leonhard once expressed the sad premise of this constellation by the line: "All peoples freed themselves, but not Germany." And Eduard Claudius, visiting Moscow in 1948, in view of that, even asked himself the mournful question whether now nothing at all was left to do for German authors but to confront themselves with fascism. But then it was he precisely who, in writing about a worker who finds his way back to class consciousness, far transcended the somber background of the fascist past and thereby wrote a German companion piece to Fiodor Gladkov's "Cement," though that was in no way an imitation of Gladkov. Here the encounter with the Soviet Union and with Soviet literature did not break someone else's creative will but set it in relief; it did not tarnish but rather sharpened the view at the German subject. And that holds true elsewhere as well. As in the 1920's so also in the 1950's Soviet literature seduced only opportunistic copiers and model grabbers into making decadent translations of the untranslatable, but always encouraged its real friends to realistically coping with the vital problems in their own country--only that way, after all, a relationship of friendship is possible that remains as free from absolute otherness (or even enmity) as from all-too-easy subordination.

Comparing "Neuland unterm Pflug" [New Land under the Plough] with "Ole Bienkopp" would come down to nothing else. In other words: All historic, typological comparison would be senseless if, in addition to common features existing here, not also contrasts were to be reflected on and strongly worked out. The best intended references to the model role of Soviet literature turn into the opposite of what was intended, actually do the bidding of the derogatory thesis about the import of socialist realism, unless one brings out at the same time, and primarily, what is original, in national terms, in socialist literary and social development. Nor will any comparison of the early GDR literature with the literature of the people's democracies lead to productive results in mutually integrating the alien with one's own, unless the dialectic between one's own and that of the others is taken into account. The degree of understanding attained today on an international basis should not seduce us into taking what combines us for granted; it should rather be seen as a challenge. If we only imagine what experiences the others have had with us and how, consequently, the image of the Germans looks in the literature of the peoples overwhelmed by Hitler Germany can we come to appreciate what barriers a literature has had and has to overcome that, to be sure, promised to become a new German literature, which it indeed finally became, but still remains a literature written by Germans for Germans. At the latest it was the Polish reaction to Hermann Kant's "Der Aufenthalt" [The Sojourn] that once again reminded us of our neighbors' continuing sensitivity even about their GDR neighbor. In turn, it is, after all, not all that easy for us either to cope with the criticism of Germany and the Germans mainly in the fraternal countries' war and liberation literature.

All the less must we forget: Our authors were the first to break down the wall of silent hate, of deadly contempt for everything German. When Louis Aragon called the German people a people of murderers, it was Stephan Hermlin who in a public letter asked for justice without denying that our people, and even its resistance fighters, had been implicated. And when Vercors wanted to deny even the antifascist German authors the right to be admitted to the international PEN Club, without tutelage, it was Johannes R. Becher who insisted, also without seeking to deny the horrible truth of the crimes under Hitler, that the whole truth should be known and recognized and that there also had been a German resistance deserving of international trust on behalf of Germany's democratic rebirth. It was a long and tough way from here and, not to omit it, from the evidently never completely overcome distrust by the Soviet author Ilya Ehrenburg to the 1965 international authors conference in Weimar. It led out of our isolation into a community that accepts our GDR peace state.

If we are asking ourselves now how it was possible that GDR literature could shape up and assume a profile of its own in what is historically a very short time frame of only two decades, we should not hesitate to acknowledge in it also the efforts of a writers' generation that even in the 1920's focused its work fully and completely on the social and national liberation struggle of the German workers class. To a significant extent the early GDR literature constitutes quasi the second pioneering achievement of the German proletarian-revolutionary writers and their closest allies, its second youth equipped with all the virtues (and vices) that just have to be allowed for that stage of life. Fascinating that this older generation in its early work wrote against the old order and with its late work promoted the genesis of our new socialist society, not without also seeing soon the new as a conflict-rich process, which they might have missed in their enthusiasm over its birth, as a process not based on no contradictions but on contradictions different in kind.

Then we always again run into the astonishing state of affairs that always again the former members of the League of proletarian-revolutionary authors of Germany or, after that was liquidated or had disbanded on its own, authors who had then joined the socialist literary movement, became the ones not only to demand, but themselves met the demand for, relevance, presenting present days, and dealing with what was new in human relations. Open volume 11 of the History of German Literature at random and you will find: contemporary drama begins with Friedrich Wolf's "Buergermeister Anna" [Mayor Anna], Hermann Werner Kubsch's "Die ersten Schritte" [The First Steps] and Karl Gruenberg's "Golden fliesst der Stahl" [Golden Flows the Steel]; new novels, with Otto Gotsche's "Tiefe Furchen" and Eduard Claudius' "Menschen an unserer Seite"; the new poetry, with poems and songs by Becher, Brecht, Hermlin, Kuba, and Fuernberg; and still the trouble younger poetic types have had to emancipate themselves from such a massive body of writing signals the pioneering role of the seniors. It much resembles the need to go back to the peasant-plebeian and proletarian fighting traditions in German history. One must of course also remember Friedrich Wolf's dramaturgy in the Volksbuehne organization, which was then disbanded of course (all too prematurely), and the great impulses the GDR drama received from Bertolt Brecht and his Berlin Ensemble and, furthermore, all Anna Seghers has done in her epic accounting for the years of decision and for establishing the ethical mission of the new society in creating human trust.

Of course, one has to remember here also the creative problems due to the 12-year separation of those in exile from German developments and equally so the long separation from the developmental process of international literature of the authors forced underground for the same amount of time. I am thinking of Hans Lorbeer, Karl Gruenberg, Elfriede Bruening, Otto Gotsche and Bruno Apitz. The reunification of these two groups and the synthesis of their different experience of life and struggle furthermore in this regard appear as a specific premise for the joint new beginning of the "internal" and "external" emigration in the GDR altogether.

That the older generation played an essential, if not the major role in the process that gave rise to GDR literature, and not only by their presence and their previous work, is also demonstrated by the abundance of their publications since the end of the war, and here I have in mind, apart from the big speeches and essays on social problems, especially the works of Anna Seghers, Johannes R. Becher, Friedrich Wolf, Bertolt Brecht, Alexander Abusch, Alfred Kurella, Willi Bredel, Bodo Uhse, Stephan Hermlin, Franz Carl Weiskopf, and Louis Fuernberg on contemporary literature and art and on our tradition, literary policy and theory of literature. What with all the importance of the ideas of Georg Lukacs at the time, while there was much agreement, for instance with regard to classicism, the 19th century realists and the critical realism of the 20th century, counterweights also made themselves felt, especially with regard to the literary "avantgarde," including its proletarian-revolutionary variety. The exacerbation of the ideological class struggle in the early 1950's and the freezing of opinions that went with it about what socialist realism was or was not prevented the expertise of the most experienced and knowledgeable comrades in the literary field from always prevailing, however. To this day, the losses then in our alliance policy can neither be gaged nor compensated. Apropos of alliance policy: Apart from its activity in bringing the intellectuals together, we also have to be grateful to it for having attracted Bernhard Kellermann, Hans Fallada, Peter Huchel, Georg Maurer and still many others to the democratic rebirth of Germany and of German literature and, moreover, for having been accepted as a teacher by the then still very young authors. The founding, shaping and management of the German Writers Association (first under the Culture League, later as an independent organization) was its work; so was the editing and publishing of the most important literary journals in our country: HEUTE UND MORGEN, OST UND WEST, AUFBAU, SINN UND FORM, and NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR. The working teams of young authors, some even prior to the founding of the Writers Association, found their mentors in men like Rudolf Leonhard and Franz Hammer, and in the fall of 1955 Alfred Kurella gave the opening lecture at the Institute for Literature, which he initially directed, "About the Teachability of Literary Skill." In 1958 Max Zimmering took over for him, in 1959 the writers' school was given the name "Johannes R. Becher"--all signs of the fusion of literary experience and youthful literary passion that ensured the continuity of the German socialist literary movement in the years of transition from the struggle against the old society to the construction of the new. This continuity, with all its fits and starts, then was in danger of being weakened, less by 17 June and the so-called Hungarian events, than by the revelations of the 20th party congress which undoubtedly deeply upset especially the older generation in its understanding of socialism. Yet political authority and human integrity even in that critical situation asserted themselves as constants in the GDR's literary process.

The literary initiatives for discovering the change and development process of working men in town and countryside; the establishing of our authors' publishing activity together with the general implications they drew from their creative experiences in budding socialism; the efforts in drawing the intellectuals together and in forming a young generation of writers firmly rooted in the socialist literary traditions--all that was quite enough for demonstrating the outstanding position of the communist writers returning from their antifascist struggle in the underground or in exile, together with their tried and tested comrades, in the emergence and profiling of GDR literature. Above and beyond all of this, however, motivating, moving and penetrating it, was the immense commitment by that artists' generation to world peace. Working for peace demanded a considerable portion of their practical life and work, and that not only for the Stalin or Lenin Peace Prize winners Anna Seghers, Johannes R. Becher, Bertolt Brecht and Arnold Zweig, but equally and even more so to this day for a man like Stephan Hermlin. All these peace speeches, essays and manifestos by our authors may be regarded today as an important German contribution to the international peace philosophy in our era.

If we ask ourselves here about its specifics, the answer would have to refer to the experience of two lost world wars unleashed by imperialist Germany but also to recognizing in time that, with Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American imperialism had given the darkest signals of our era. That required comprehending the Grisha problems and the Galilei situation in their unity and drawing up a strategy for jointly preserving existence on this planet; that required disclosing the causes for the threat against humanity and reacting in every moment to any symptom of new war danger; and it required addressing and mobilizing the ethical and political impulses of the peace struggle. That peace and socialism are one and the same thing and that both must be defended lest the peoples, one's own included, become for the last time an object instead of the subject of their fate--that message is likely to be the most important one our authors transmitted in the 1950's to their contemporaries and to future generations; and any young literary talent still will have to stand up to that, not against that.

Reviewing once again the 1920's, it becomes perfectly clear what should here bear the emphasis: the tradition of the German socialist literature since then, not simply preserved but time and time again reconstituted through new beginnings and new designs, 1933 confronting the German catastrophe, together with the chance of turning literature into the organ of the transformation process that had then become the order of the day. Our authors have used that chance resolutely. Some of them--unfortunately not all--acquired a perception of literature under these new conditions that proceeds from the general functional connection between progressive social policy and writing affecting it yet still insists on accepting the particular, the unique in the aesthetic apprehension of reality. As we know well enough, this dialectical conception has divided them all too often not only from their enemies, but even from their friends. And as they stood in the center of our literary development, they would harvest not only praise, but also much criticism, just and unjust scorn.

And then there was for a long time a remarkably fractured rapport with our own proletarian-revolutionary beginnings, which so strangely clouded the awareness of the great connection between the start in the 1920's and the new start in the 1950's and undoubtedly blocked the socialist development of GDR literature.

As late as in 1955 Louis Fuernberg deplored that Becher had once again fallen prey to the terrible mania for superlatives and called Thomas Mann the most important writer of the 20th century instead of giving preference to that wondrous pleiad of German writers announcing the morrow of a new and better era. It was wickedly ironical of fate that Becher himself then, post mortem, moved up to become the most important classic author of the era. This coronation nonetheless shows that as our revolution advanced, it was no longer possible to slight the proletarian-revolutionary tradition that had prevailed, at least conceptually.

Mitteldeutscher Verlag sponsored an authors conference on 24 April 1959. Later it was sometimes referred to as the Bitterfeld Conference. Alfred Kurella pointed out there that there was hardly any other country in the world where while the power struggle was going so many artists with bourgeois antecedents had, on the one hand, been attracted to the cause of the socialist revolution and, on the other hand, already during that stage artists appeared out of the ranks of the class who had the good fortune to introduce this way an entirely new element into the art of the world. The topical task of moving the workers class and literature close to one another clearly made the older generation recall the advanced position in literary history it had objectively maintained for decades. Part of its second pioneering achievement is, if you will, that it eventually acknowledged its first as its legitimate product and saw to it that literary historiography would take care of both of them. That generation then comprehended the road it had taken from the proletarian-revolutionary literature of the Weimar Republic to the formation of the early GDR literature, the connection between its beginnings and its tasks amidst the revolutionary transformation processes of the 1950's, finally again in terms of the contradictory unity involved. Let us never lose sight of this traditional connection when we debate the share literature has had in the birth of the socialist national state of the GDR and in forming a new social consciousness in this better land.

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PZPR POLITBURO THESES FOR 17TH PLENUM

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[Politburo theses for the 17th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: "The Key Problems of Strengthening the State, Developing Socialist Democracy, and Consolidating Legality, Order, and Social Discipline"]

[Text] The 17th Central Committee plenum will be devoted to problems of strengthening the state, developing socialist democracy, and consolidating legality, order, and social discipline.

These problems are especially important and determine the present progress in and further tasks of the social renewal of social life, of the development of the national economy, and of strengthening Poland's international position.

For over 3 years we have worked and struggled for normalization and have made efforts to overcome the crisis, to create conditions for the country's favorable development, and to implement the Ninth Congress line of agreement, struggle, and socialist reforms. The National Conference of Delegates evaluated this work of ours. Since this conference we have scored further crucial achievements as attested to by the elections to the people's councils and by the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of our state. The impact of the adversaries of socialism has weakened. Their social isolation is increasing. The range of agreement is expanding and tranquility, order, and a sense of realism and responsibility are gaining in strength. These conditions made it possible to proclaim a wide-range amnesty.

We continue to obtain gradual increases in production and productivity and to regain economic balance. The suitably modified principles of the economic reform continue to prove themselves in the stubborn struggle between the new and the old.

The socialist reforms of political and social life are being consistently implemented, and the process of turning legal solutions into social practice is developing, albeit not without difficulties.

The massive attack of imperialism against our country has been repulsed. The conditions for restoring Poland's position and militancy in international life are being created. Poland's allied credibility in relations with the fraternal socialist countries is also gaining in strength.

These processes are continuing, cannot be reversed, and help create new advantages for our country. We are entering a new stage in the development of the situation and a new stage of the implementation of our party line. However, we must continue to realize that "the most difficult is still before us."

This means that at the 17th Central Committee Plenum we must evaluate how far the Ninth Congress resolutions have been implemented, define the ways and means of intensifying the processes of socialist renewal with regard to all problems of the state, democracy, and the rule of law, and map out the party's present tasks in these key areas.

We should answer the following questions: How do we expand agreement, intensify social militance, and overcome mistrust and vacillation? How do we intensify the processes of the further consolidation of the state, of the development of people's rule, and of the strengthening of social order and civic discipline? How do we ensure the effective government by the central authorities harmonizes with the efforts to enrich democratic and self-government forms of social life? How do we effectively strengthen the barriers against the enemies of socialism and against those who pervert its ideals?

These questions are closely connected with the nationwide task of strengthening the state's security and increasing the Polish contribution toward the unity, potential, and militancy of the socialist community and toward the struggle against the threat posed to peace by the aggressive policy of world imperialism.

The answers to these questions will constitute a crucial achievement of the work on the long-term program that we will adopt at the 10th party congress. We continue to formulate this program with an eye on our independent and sovereign people's state, which is the greatest achievement and the supreme boom of the people engaged in socialist construction.

Chapter I. The Socialist State Is An Expression of the People's Will and Needs

The PPR is a socialist state, one that expresses the interests of the workers class, peasants, and the intelligentsia. It is the basic, broadest, and politically decisive organization of the people, who, through the state ensure for themselves an independent and secure social existence, progress in civilization and culture, and development that is consistent with collective will.

The socialist state is more than just the apparatus that governs and more than just the organization that implements laws, is responsible for administration, and dispenses justice. The state is made up above all of people, territory, property, and cultural achievements. The crucial function of the state is to gather the forces and experience of all the people within a single organism, to equip this organism with the necessary resources to enable it to effectively function, and to mobilize people for settling common issues. That is why attempts to draw a "dividing line" between the government and the people are groundless and harmful. The power in the socialist state belongs to the working people and is exercised on their behalf. The exercise of power is not

something "above" the people. It expresses the people's aspirations and resolve and is subjected to their control. Every citizen is a part of the state, which confirms its socialist character by extending the working people's participation in government and by the degree to which citizens can identify themselves with the state by saying that "we are the state."

A sovereign state constitutes a special value for our people. We were deprived of our own state for over a century. Bitter and painful experience of history has proved that there is no independence, development, and prosperity of the people without a strong, cohesive, governable, and efficient state.

The rebirth of our independent state in 1918 crowned the national liberation struggles of generations and was of enormous historical significance. However, that state was unable to solve its main national and social problems because of its class restrictions and because of the fact that it was governed by the interests of the bourgeoisie and landowners, who were against the aspirations of the masses.

The birth and development of People's Poland were a turning point in our history. The socialist state, which has been building for the past 40 years, has its deep roots in the national and social soil and is connected with the traditions of the national liberation aspirations, the workers' struggle for the right to work and social justice, the peasants' struggles for land and bread, and the dreams of generations about the working masses' Poland.

More than 40 years ago Poland was faced with problems that could not be solved under the old system. In order to solve the main national and social problems and to find a permanent and secure place in the new historical reality, the Polish state had to be reborn in a new class shape and to be based on a new program, new alliances, and a new organization of collective life.

Only a state of the people engaged in building the foundations of socialism was able to carry out the mature and necessary reforms, especially the agrarian reform and the nationalization of industry. Only such a state was able to pursue a foreign policy that could guarantee sovereignty and security for the people, the recovery of the Piast territories along the Nysa and Odra rivers, and the establishment of a society free from nationality conflicts. Only such a state was able to eliminate the main reasons for social injustice and to ensure the elimination of unemployment, of overpopulation in rural areas, and of illiteracy. Only such a state was able to industrialize the country, to accelerate the development of civilization and culture, and to greatly reduce the gap between Poland and the economically most developed countries. Only a state whose class and constitutional system was new was able to ensure advancement for the masses and to elevate them to the position of the chief social force--to the dignity of "masters of the national cause."

1. Class and National Functions of the State

The class nature of the socialist state and its democracy consists in implementing the historic mission of the workers class--in constructing a system of social justice and in ensuring the primacy of long-term interests of this class in political, social, and economic life as well as in education, culture, and upbringing.

By attending to workers' interests, the socialist state implements the most vital interests of peasants and intellectuals, who are allies of the workers class. This is because workers' aspirations are consistent with the basic interests and goals of peasants and intellectuals.

The worker and populist nature of the state goes beyond its national tasks. The sociopolitical hegemony of the workers class and its alliance with peasants and intellectuals are the foundation of our political system and ensure our material-political conditions, under which the state is able to solve all our people's problems in a way that has never been possible before.

In his speech at the 12th Central Committee plenum, Comrade General Wojciech Jaruzleski characterized the dialectic union of the state's national and class functions as follows: "The socialist state is the broadest organization of the Poles and the main platform for implementing their national interests. It is also a state of workers' hegemony, which is supported by the worker-peasant alliance and by the rights and duties of all our citizens. The party stands guard over priority of workers' interests and, at the same time, attends to the needs of the allied peasant class and other working strata and groups."

The gradual and consistent implementation of long-term interests of the workers class and its allies constitutes the crux of the program for socialist construction. When describing the present stage of this construction, we said at the 13th Central Committee plenum that changes in the socioeconomic base and in other areas, especially in the area of social consciousness, were disproportionate in their development. Not all tasks of the period in which the foundations of socialism are erected have been fully implemented. There are still many disproportions in this regard, the contradictions connected with these disproportions continue to exist, and the class struggle is going on.

That is why our people's state must continue to discharge a number of functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even at the moment of its establishment, our state sought to implement creative and socially mature goals. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not restricted to using violence in its performance. It also constitutes an instrument with which to transform production and social relations in the interest of an enormous majority of the people. This means that the dictatorship of the proletariat fulfills a profoundly democratic task. In line with its social meaning, the dictatorship of the proletariat makes it necessary for the socialist state to consistently intensify democracy and to improve its forms and mechanisms because democracy is a form of the political system in which, in line with Lenin's dictum, "organizing and mobilizing the masses and committing them to militant and creative activities is a key to solving the most urgent tasks of the socialist transformation of society."

The state of the workers class and the working people must be able to use the means of political compulsion in line with the existing laws and reality and, primarily, in line with the acuteness of the class struggle, which depends on the development not only of the domestic [word indistinct] international situation.

The experience of the past few years has once again demonstrated the necessity to maintain the readiness of the resources by which the dictatorship of the proletariat can defend the state. These resources and functions are necessary in order to defend revolutionary achievements and democratic rights against anti-people and, primarily, anti-worker actions as well as against the counter-revolutionary attempts at the populist nature of the state.

We remember the situation of 3 years ago--the fever of strikes, the spiral of demagogic demands, and the destruction of the economy. We remember how the slogans of the "self-governing republic," political pluralism, and so on were expected to open the road to power for the antisocialist forces by creating confusion among the working people and by weakening the people's state.

The basic echelons of the state went in to defend the state in line with the intentions of the citizens who wanted stability and peace. The Polish people's armed forces, the security service, and the forces to keep order, which are those echelons of the state that have been formed and trained by the party in the spirit of patriotism and class responsibility, did not disappoint us. They reaffirmed their profound loyalty to the cause of socialism. The country was rescued from a catastrophe by martial law, the disintegration of the economy and the rule of political anarchy were ended, a fratricidal conflict was prevented, and opportunities for socialist renewal were preserved. The distance of time makes it obvious that the defense of the state against destruction created the conditions for necessary reforms and the necessary opportunities for implementing the Ninth Congress line.

We will always oppose counterrevolutionary attempts with the same consistency with which we cut them down in past years.

We are developing the Polish socialist state--a sovereign and secure state, one that is strong through its institutions--as a result of the organizational work of the party, the allied cooperation with the ZSL and the SK, the commitment of the nonparty masses, and the social support we are able to win and consolidate. The party regards the activities to strengthen the state--these activities mean eliminating whatever weakens the state from within and without, and whatever resuscitates the dangerous traditions of anarchy and wilfulness--as a particularly important pledge vis-a-vis the workers class and the people. We closely associate the idea of a strong state with the principles of the state's class nature, with the intensification of socialist democracy, with control by the people, and with the openness of public life. The strength of the authority of the state must be based on laws that are equal for all citizens.

The development of socialist democracy, the efforts to strengthen the leading role of the workers class and all the working people in their own state, which is strong and efficient, and the unyielding struggle against the adversaries of socialism are the two sides of the same task.

2. Political Achievements of People's Poland

Beginning with the great October Socialist Revolution, the history of socialism has accumulated the experience of a political system, which is a young system in terms of history. The process of expanding and improving the forms

of this system is continuing. New institutions, principles, and mechanisms of political life are being developed and new social practices are being promoted. Our own experience is part of this worldwide process.

As People's Poland has developed, its political institutions and methods of government have continued to change. An important role has been played by the historical form of people's democracy under which the front of the democratic forces led by the Polish workers party carried out basic social reforms, erected the foundations of the historic alliance with the USSR, secured new and safe borders of Poland, managed the reconstruction of our fatherland after the ravages of war, and strengthened the populist nature of our state. People's democracy was a form of the state that under specific conditions implemented the strategy of switching over from the preliminary tasks of revolution to its higher stages, from the liquidation of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie and landowners to the consolidation of the domination of the workers class, and from the strengthening of its alliances to the socialist revolution in the economy and social and cultural life.

As the socioeconomic foundations of socialism continued to be expanded, the workers class continued to develop, the masses continued to advance, socialism continued to gain in strength worldwide, and the forms of our society's political organization continued to change. The state's organizational functions connected with planning the development of the economy and running the economic processes involved ever newer tasks resulting from the development of production forces and from increasing social needs. The state's role in education, culture, and upbringing continued to gain in strength and its social functions continued to increase.

We have not been able to avoid errors and deformations during these processes, but the Ninth Party Congress made a profound evaluation of them and instructed a Central Committee commission to draw up a report in this connection. The conclusions of this report were turned into a resolution of the 12th Central Committee plenum. We attach enormous importance to an honest analysis of our past experience. We continue to liquidate the sources of and reasons for errors, which cause social conflicts and political crises. We also continue to create safeguards against any future repetition of such errors.

An honest and unprejudiced approach to the history of People's Poland shows that the chief feature of the development of our state was the tendency to expand civic rights and to increase the working people's share in the performance of the state. This is a natural quality of the socialist system, the development of which requires ever increasing and creative militance of the masses.

The political achievements of the past 40 years, especially the achievements scored since the Ninth Party Congress, show that despite periodic checks, People's Poland has achieved the following:

--The extent to which the working people share in all forms of government has greatly increased;

--indisputable progress has been made in implementing the principles of equality and social justice, the extent to which the working people are entitled

to their constitutional rights has been increased, and the universality of political, economic, social, and cultural rights has been permanently rooted in the socioeconomic structure of our system.

Fulfilling the first condition of equality by abolishing the exploiting classes, socialism ensures that everyone can work, creates conditions for extensive access to education and culture, strengthens the processes by which people can advance socially, reduces the differences between the living conditions in rural and urban areas, and accelerates the emancipation of women. All this is of curcial significance for democratizing social relations and creates foundations for a true equality of civic rights and for opportunities to participate in public life;

--the importance of law in developing sociopolitical relations has increased and progress in implementing and safeguarding the principles of legality has been made. At the same time, we are aware of the fact that there is and for a long time will be the need to counter the abuse of constitutional rights for actions against our system. This need results from the necessity to defend the working people's interests, the achievements of socialism, and the Polish state's interests. What is important is to ensure that restrictions, which are connected with the class nature of our system and are necessary to protect the humanist values of this system, are not abused as a pretext for curbing civic rights, for weakening the impact of public opinion on the process of government, and for strangling criticism. That is why we attach great importance to accurately discriminating between that which is a critical appraisal formulated out of concern for the working people's interests and that which is in conflict with these interests and furthers actions against our system.

We will fight only against genuine adversaries. The militant and critical people who make courageous demands that practise ought to be consistent with the principles and norms of socialism should be treated with respect and should be protected and supported as valuable social allies of our party.

The working people and the citizens of People's Poland hold different views on many socially important questions and differ in their ideas about the best solution of various political and economic problems. Differences in views manifest themselves in various forms in our sociopolitical life, but for the most part they exert a refreshing impact on and increase the maturity of the decisions we make. Hence, the conclusion that it is only antisocialist opposition, which is antinational in its essence, that has no place in the state of socialist democracy.

The experience we have gained in the past 40 years of the construction of our people's state amounts to a general conclusion that socialist democracy is neither a gift from "good government" nor something that has been wrested from "bad government." Democracy is the necessary feature of a developing socialist society. It is a necessity and not a gesture or tactical ploy. It is the "driving wheel" and not a "safety valve" of socialism. Only under conditions of consistently developed socialist democracy and democratic centralism is it possible to fully implement the working people's conscious participation in socialist construction. Only under such conditions is it possible for

the masses to be consciously in charge of what they do. Democracy, which includes various forms of self-government, provides the best possible conditions for dissolving contradictions, triggering initiative, and optimizing decisions. The need to promote people's rule also results from the increasing complexity of the economy and social life, which it is impossible to effectively manage exclusively from the top without a growing share of grassroots initiative and responsibility and without organized social control.

The period during which the Ninth Party Congress program was implemented occupies a special place within the achievements of People's Poland. Motivated by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the party has candidly voiced its view on the past errors, has learned the lessons of an acute class struggle at home and abroad, and has presented a comprehensive program for solving new tasks.

The achievements in the implementation of this line are rich and original. We continue to consistently tread the road of strengthening people's rule and adapting the structures of political life to given stages of the development of the socioeconomic base of socialism and to the needs and aspirations of the working people. The top task in implementing the managing and leading role of the party is to strengthen its direct ties with the workers class and the working people, to ensure the openness of political and social life, and to promote the development of internal party democracy.

The cooperation between the PZPR, on the one hand, and the ZSL and the SD, on the other, has been tightened. Our cooperation with the associations of progressive Catholics and lay Christians has also been expanded. Our coalition cooperation was evident in the course and results of the elections to the people's councils. The position of the Sejm has been consolidated. The practice of holding consultations on various issues has been expanded. The process of improving administration is continuing. Improved principles and novel solutions of cadre policy are being implemented.

The view that our people had achieved moral-political unity was wrong. The present government respects the genuinely existing social contradictions, differences in interests, and pluralism of views. The patriotic movement for national rebirth [PRON], which continues to create platforms of agreement on the basis of our constitutional political principles and the Polish reasons of state, is developing with those facts in mind.

The economic reform, which seeks to promote the effectiveness of strategic planning and the uniformity of socioeconomic policy under conditions of decentralization and increased independence of enterprises and which encourages the complicated process of switching over from extensive to intensive methods of economic management, is of great importance.

The new trade union movement is developing and consolidating. Workers self-government bodies continue to gradually strengthen the self-government of workers and other forms of self-government in line with the principles of socialism and the main goals of state policy.

Socialist renewal is being implemented through efforts to increase the role of social factors in stimulating various forms of civic initiative and control and in intensifying the struggle against those who violate the laws and against all kinds of social evils.

All this helps to consolidate the democratic nature of the state, to increase the efficiency of its agencies, to encourage the right decisions, to strengthen the ability to govern, to respect the laws and social order and discipline, and to prevent a return of distortions.

However, the present results are still unsatisfactory. The processes initiated at the Ninth Party Congress are in the initial phase of implementation. The legal-political framework of people's rule is being supported by vital manifestations of civic militancy, but this is being done slowly and with great resistance. People are inexperienced in taking advantage of new institutions. The application of the principles of people's rule is being hindered by the still existing proneness to sham efficiency, slapdash government, arrogance, avoidance of public control, the low political and economic culture of some strata of society, failure to share production results in line with progress in production and productivity, unrealistic demands, and poor discipline. Parochialism, which ignores national interests, and poor civic discipline are some of the obstacles we have to face. Many tasks are facing us in the sector of control, which is such an important sector within the system of people's rule. Red tape is still rife. Many state bodies still do not know what it means to promptly and efficiently attend to the citizens' business.

The experience of the past few years has indicated most strongly that it is necessary to ensure that social needs be put above regional or individual needs and that aspirations of groups of people do not hinder the implementation of national goals.

All this means that there are still many complicated problems for us to solve. We should bear in mind that they can be solved only through harmonious, consistent, and well organized efforts.

3. Against the Myths of Bourgeois Democracy

The development of socialist democracy is a long-term and complicated social process, but even now the practice of this democracy, albeit imperfect, is able to decisively confirm the superiority of the socialist form of the state and social life over the practice of the capitalist system.

We do not simplify these issues. We do not question the importance of the institutions and democratic rights in the most developed countries of the entire large capitalist system, rights that the workers class and the masses have fought for and gained in the course of the long struggle waged by many generations at the price of sufferings and blood. However, it is a fact that those political rights are in conflict with an acute economic and social inequality and that, although in specific cases these rights may be wide-ranging, they apply only inasmuch as they do not directly threaten the stability of the capitalist system and the nature of the Bourgeoisie's class domination.

Under capitalism the facade of formal rights conceals the working people's dependence on the power of money. However, whenever it hinders the bourgeoisie from exercising real power or makes it difficult for imperialism to interfere wherever it sees its rule threatened, this facade is done away with.

This is not only the historic of capitalism in the 19th century or in the first half of the 20th century. This happens nowadays as well, as attested to by Chile, El Salvador, Granada, Guatemala, the anti-trade union measures in the United States, the brutal repression of miners in Great Britain, the Berufsverbot [ban on employment] in the FRG, and the U.S. pressure against the inclusion of the Italian communists in the Italian Government. The missionary tone and the rhetoric saturated with the slogans about "human rights," "political pluralism," and "free play of forces" amount to a propaganda of mystification, which is expected to obscure the nature of the system that is being ruled by capitalism, that keeps other countries in colonial dependence and which is used to mask the class aims in the struggle against socialism.

The struggle that various parties wage for power is basically alien to the socioeconomic structure of socialism, in which the organic and antagonistic contradictions between the world of capital and the world of labor do not exist. Attempts to transfer such a struggle to the political conditions of socialism actually seek to create legal conditions for the actions of the anti-socialist forces. However, the fact that the means of production are public property under the socialist system makes it impossible for these forces to introduce the model of a free play of political forces. This model not only might lead to reprivatization of capital goods, but also might make it impossible to uniformly run the processes of the economy and to share the national product in line with the interests of all the people.

It is a fact that present Polish society is differentiated. These differences are made up of different class positions and roles in the social division of labor, different education, prosperity, material and cultural aspirations, attitudes toward traditions and religion, ideas, views on many issues, needs, and interests.

However, the fact that our society is differentiated does not allow us to conclude that a free play of political forces is desirable in our country. Under our conditions, differences and agreement can be exercised with the help of extensive platforms of socialist democracy, something which makes it possible to express the riches of public opinion, to harmonize the different interests and needs of professional and occupational communities and groups, and, at the same time, to ensure the overriding position of the interests and aspirations of the workers class and its allies.

4. Conclusions and Tasks

The Marxist-Leninist principles and our rich experience, which has been especially intensified in the past few years, enable us to define the general lines of the activities that determine the strengthening of the socialist state and its democratic nature. This experience shows that the strength of the socialist state depends primarily on its class character and its

ability to effectively represent and implement the interests of the workers class. This strength results to a decisive extent from the real position that our party has within the class and within the working people, and depends on the effectiveness of our party's leading role in the state.

The historical role of the workers class requires that its alliance with the peasants and intellectuals be tightened. This important process of tightening is organized by our party, which maps out the goals of social development common for all the working people.

Consistently treading this road, which has been verified by our rich experience, it is necessary to strengthen the coalition manner of exercising power together with the ZSL and the SD and with participation of the progressive groups of Catholics and lay Christians and with the expanding participation of nonparty citizens. In all this, the leading role of the PZPR must be ensured.

The forms of the organization of state life must change as the level of the country's economic development is raised and as we go over to successive tasks of socialist construction.

In line with the political principle of democratic centralism, the crux of this process is to strengthen the strategic functions and effectiveness of the central management of the country's affairs and to stimulate the initiative, militancy, and resourcefulness of all echelons of social life, workers teams, and local communities as well as the citizens' participation in government and economic management.

A very extensive range of economic functions and tasks is a characteristic of the socialist state. These functions are permanent, but, depending on conditions, the methods by which they are exercised have to be changed. The nature of our economic reform caters to this contingency. The consistent continuation of this reform makes it necessary to:

--Strengthen the strategic importance and effectiveness of the central annual and multiyear planning, which should combine economic efficiency with the need to meet the urgent needs of the people;

--consolidate the role and position of workers self-management groups in enterprises and ensure that the rights of these groups are respected and utilized with increasing effectiveness and that parochial tendencies in their performance are overcome;

--improve the economic mechanisms by which the economy is run, especially in the sphere of productivity, rational employment and investments, conservation of materials, technological progress, and production quality;

--to further adapt the structure and practices of the central state apparatus to the actual stage of the economic reform.

The reform is not an automatic mechanism. Its success depends on the resolution and skill with which the participants in the economic processes use the reform's tools, and on the extent to which all work forces and teams display their attitudes as responsible comanagers.

We should develop correct relations between self-government groups of the community and the state's professional apparatus. Attaching paramount importance to the self-government movement, while ignoring the importance of effective state administration, on the one hand, and pooh-poohing the need to expand the area of social self-government groups, on the other, can only weaken the state and check the progress of people's rule. The state's strength is based on the development of the self-governing forms of the working people's democratic militance, and on an effective and competent executive apparatus of the state, one possessing the necessary powers and enjoying merited authority and social support in its daily work.

The development of the socialist forms of the political system calls for efforts to expand the dialogue, on the one hand, and to wage a continuous struggle against activities seeking to achieve open or disguised counterrevolutionary goals and against attempts to weaken or even to dismantle the state, on the other.

The struggle against anarchist tendencies, disorder, and loose discipline calls for efforts to effectively counter red-tape tendencies, arrogance, and narrow-minded technocratism, which are dangerous phenomena and whose growth endangers the cohesion of the state and weakens ties with the workers class and the working people. The party should expand its struggle against all kinds of actions that help to bring the party away from the working masses and to betray the principles of socialist democracy.

The strength of the state is based on the citizens' sense of responsibility and on social discipline. A state in which people disregard their duties, indulge in slapdash behavior, refuse to toe the line of common interests, and interpret freedom as the right to willfulness will never be really strong. The strength of the state that is able to guarantee civic rights stems from civic consciousness and discipline.

We have to follow basic criteria, which are all the more important in view of the present threats to peace, when strengthening the external functions of our socialist state and consistently implementing the principles of Polish foreign and defense policy, principles that have been fully reaffirmed in the past 40 years.

To strengthen Poland, to attend to its welfare, and to promote its interests means taking special care of and consolidating our alliance, friendship, and cooperation with the USSR, the CSSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries. It means combining patriotism with internationalism and the will to peace with the unshakable readiness to defend the historic achievements of socialism.

Through further efforts to consistently reorientate our economic policy we will strengthen our position within the family of CEMA countries and increase our contribution toward the development of this socialist economic grouping. We continue to increase our defense readiness to the best of our ability within the allied might of the Warsaw Pact.

We continue to boost our political militancy in defending peace against imperialist threats and to make efforts in favor of the further stabilization of the political-territorial order in Europe, decisively countering the revisionist and revanchist aspirations of pan-Germanism. Many facts are already indicating that Poland's voice is being strongly heard on many key questions of the present times.

We will continue to resolutely rebuff the brutal imperialist, mainly the American, attempts to interfere in our internal affairs, which we continue to solve in a sovereign and legal manner in line with our own interests.

The course of events has demonstrated that we are able to effectively cope with a political hue-and-cry, economic sanctions, and ideological and propaganda subversion. We have proved that we will not succumb to any pressure, which pooh-poohs the rights of our state, seeks to curb these rights, strikes at the welfare of our people, and insults their dignity. This policy has failed. The sooner its sponsors and executors learn the lessons from their failure, the better the cause of peace and the climate of international coexistence will be.

However, if our state is able to better discharge its external functions and tasks, it needs a further favorable development along the lines of internal consolidation, agreement, reforms, order and discipline, and effective struggle against economic difficulties. He who helps us in this contributes to strengthening the sovereignty and security of our fatherland and to the defense of peace.

Chapter II. The PZPR Is the Leading Force of the PPR's Political System

The premises that justify the PZPR's leading role in the state and its guiding role among the people include: the great contribution to the historic process that made our country establish people's rule, carry out revolutionary changes, and promote socialist construction; the achievements of the past 40 years, in which our workers class has played a historic role; the consistent implementation of socialist renewal; and the fact that the party is an ideological and political vanguard in these processes.

We are a party that serves the workers' aims and values and that struggles to implement the principles of social justice here and now, on this earth, in the earthly life of our people. We clarify the complicated problems of social existence on the basis of a scientific theory, which provides an honest explanation of what the world is and teaches us how to change it in the spirit of humanist ideals. We see the road, along which we can bring life closer to the ideals we proclaim, in the persevering efforts to transform social conditions and in propagating science and culture, and not in issuing highfalutin appeals.

We interpret the constitutional enactment that defines the leading role of our party in the Polish political system primarily as a duty and service vis-a-vis the workers class, the people, and socialist Poland.

The Ninth Party Congress declared that it supports the policy in line with which "the party maps out strategic aims, realistically charters the main lines of the country's development, strengthens its own control functions, gives priority in its policy to the interests of workers, which are the interests of all the working people, promotes the worker-peasant alliance, and helps consolidate the democratic mechanisms of sociopolitical life."

While implementing this line and seeking to expand the class foundations of socialist democracy, the party will develop economic and political conditions in line with the principle which states that the social domination of the workers class should be strengthened. This involves the strategy of consolidating and developing the socialist conditions of production and determines the long-term socioeconomic policy of the socialist state.

We continue to consolidate as well as modify and boost the party leadership in socialist construction, to strengthen and develop the correct leading role of the party vis-a-vis the state bodies, to enhance the party's ties with the workers class, to democratize political conditions, and to expand the social base of government.

On the one hand, we have resolutely rejected the concepts that seek to narrow down the party's role to ideological, propaganda, and agitation tasks, to loosen its structure, and to deprive it of effective impact on the activities of the state and its agencies. On the other hand, we continue to eliminate the trends toward identifying the party's role with direct administrative interference, with bossism, with substituting for state agencies, and with autocratic postures that avoid control and consultations with the public.

We regard our leading and guiding primarily as a duty of formulating the program for socialist construction. Such a program should express the interests and aspirations of the working people and reflect the laws that govern the country's development and needs. We regard this role as a duty of carefully identifying the most crucial social problems and of fully developing solutions to them in line with the working people's interests. We formulate the program and the ways of implementing it in the course of internal party discussions and in consultation with the extensive sections of our people. We deem it our duty to conduct a dialogue with other prosocialist political forces active in the country and with the public.

Our aim is to ensure that the program so developed and the methods of party activities are an inspiration for the representative bodies of state power, the agencies of state administration, and the echelons of social self-government. While influencing the performance of these bodies, party cells and organizations are obliged to consistently observe the constitutionally defined extent of the powers possessed by these bodies.

The party is a leading echelon of the PPR's political system, and acts within the framework of our laws and in line with the constitutional norms of the socialist state, sponsors and creates legal acts, sees that these acts are generally observed, and rejects all methods by which the laws can be evaded and which caused so much damage in the past and weakened the socialist rule of law. Leading, setting examples of how the laws should be observed, and preventing any violation of them is the statutory duty of all PZPR cells, organizations, members, and candidates.

The leading position to the party involves not only a suitable representation in the Sejm, the people's councils, and all kinds of self-government bodies, as well as an inspiring influence on their work. It also involves efforts to strengthen their constitutional position and to ensure that they fulfill their legal functions. The party must see that their social authority is real. That is why it is necessary to increase the working people's share in the decisions and activities of those bodies, to inform the public about the functioning of the state's representative, executive, and self-government bodies, and to carefully listen to the views and demands of citizens.

At the Ninth Party Congress we defined the party as a consistent "advocate of the implementation of the idea of people's rule." We obliged the party members active in the state and self-government bodies to be leaders in implementing this idea. We fully reaffirm this position of ours and will continue to put it into effect to the best of our ability. The development of socialist democracy is the fundamental premise for strengthening the leading and guiding role of the PZPR. The correct implementation of this role helps consolidate socialist democracy. Such are the laws and needs of socialism.

The party is the chief sponsor of transformations in the system of socialist democracy and, on the basis of suitable legal conditions, creates for the working people political opportunities to share in government and mobilizes them for actively utilizing these facilities. Without such militancy and creative initiatives all democratic legal and institutional solutions will remain merely a formality.

The party must also be the chief advocate of the duty to observe the laws, to discharge obligations, to see that appointed tasks are implemented, and to promote discipline, without which there can be no progress. The party must resolutely combat the tolerance of all kinds of evil and must place exacting requirements on everyone, regardless of positions, functions, and job.

Cadre policy, which is active, correct, and based on socially accepted principles, is a very important instrument with which the party's role in the state can be exercised. The party is a very important source of cadres, which is not only its right, but also its duty in line with its responsibility. We see the party influence on cadre policy as a duty of selecting and proposing the valuable and best people for leading posts, of increasing their qualifications, and of honestly evaluating the results of their performance. We attach particular importance to promoting nonparty people, because this is an important method of mobilizing social energy and of praising ability, industry, and civic commitment.

The effectiveness of the party's leadership depends on the leadership of party members in their own communities and on their ability to win authority in state echelons, in self-government bodies, which are an expression of people's rule, and in public life. The party's performance from top to bottom must be such that it is able to always confirm the compatibility between party words and deeds and to provide examples of state discipline, democratic militancy, and social service.

In its resolutions and, primarily, its greatly changed statute, the Ninth Party Congress came out in favor of a determined elimination of the tendencies to curb internal party democracy and in favor of consistently observing the Leninist principles in the life and activities of the party. This is one of the key conditions of worker's and society's confidence in the party, for strengthening its position, and for developing its social sensitiveness and political initiative. These principles are being confirmed by practice to an ever increasing extent. We will continue to consistently follow them. The democratism of the party's internal life helps create good examples and a favorable climate for implementing democratic principles in other spheres of sociopolitical life. It exerts an adventurous influence on developing our society's attitudes and political culture and on the way in which government is exercised and its apparatus functions.

We will continue to follow the principles which make the party apparatus a servant vis-a-vis elected bodies and primary party organizations. The ideological-moral code and service regulations applying to regular political party workers are favorable to this. This code and regulations detail these workers' rights, duties, qualities governing their selection, and political, occupational, and moral requirements. At present, party workers undergo reviews every year and comprehensive evaluations every few years.

In line with the 12th Central Committee Plenum decisions, the Politburo has closely defined the principles of internal party consultations. For example, the party was asked to discuss many alternative solutions resulting from the 16th Central Committee plenum resolutions. We will continue and improve this practice.

There is still much to do in order to strengthen the primary party organizations, to boost their militancy, and to expand their impact on the work forces. It will be impossible to do this if we indulge in petty interference in the activities of managements and social bodies, in trying to do their work for them, and in assuming various administrative functions. The crux of party activities is to program, organize, control, and manage cadre policy, to correctly deploy forces and resources, to help party members to become influential in their work, and to set good examples.

Those who think that this method takes too much time and is not very effective and who dream of pushing people around are wrong. Lively exchanges of views at party forums, consistently respecting party opinion, teamwork and openness of executive bodies, conscious discipline in implementing assumed tasks, creating socially acceptable models through one's own conduct, criticism and self-criticism, and consistency in the struggle for social justice and against evil are activities that we must not abandon and that we must propagate and intensify. We are against returning to the institution of the "super office," to party meetings that are pooh-poohed, and to bureaucratic methods of action that bring the party away from daily life and from the working people's problems, that dilute the class meaning of party activity, and that result in the disappearance of criticism and of ideological integrity.

Criticism and self-criticism are necessary if we are to maintain contact with life, find correct solutions and methods of work, and wage an effective struggle against evil.

In order to play its role, the party must be critical of and must oppose all distortions and weaknesses that violate the principles of our system and of people's rule and give rise to social discontent. To fulfill its duty of leading in the struggle against evil the party must be most consistent in uprooting negative phenomena within its own ranks.

The party has paid a high price for failing to respond in good time to deviations from the principles and norms of the party statute. Every violation and omission of the laws and the principles of living in a community, every neglect by party members of their occupational and social duties, and every reappearance of bad habits and practices must be effectively countered.

Party cells, organizations, and control bodies have done much in this regard, but there is still much to be done. The party should never allow itself to be outstripped in unmasking and overcoming evil and in eliminating its causes. This is the crucial condition for strengthening the state, democracy, and the rule of law, for paving the road to social militancy and civic initiative, and for creating a favorable climate for them.

Very important tasks are facing the party in the sphere of socialist civic education and of making people think in the terms of the state--that there is a place for their activity within it and that they are responsible for it. We must overcome that which we have inherited from our difficult national past: The divergence between the intensity of patriotic commitment at the turning points of history and the feebleness of day-to-day patriotism of work and duty. It is easier for us to make sudden spurts of activity than to be consistently industrious, disciplined, and persevering in achieving the appointed goals.

While everyone has democratic aspirations, many people are not aware of the fact that democratization also means that one has to accept certain restrictions, because it is necessary to submit to various decisions, that one must display discipline in implementing one's tasks, and that one must be ready to obey the rigors of team work. A one-sided view of democracy reduces it to freedom of speech and of presenting and defending one's own opinions. However, this freedom is merely a preliminary condition of democracy. This condition makes it possible to make decisions, the implementation of which requires conscious discipline and respect for the people who have been entrusted with the mandate of social confidence. We need genuine democracy expressed in the freedom of views and in the effectiveness of the activities that produce tangible results.

Education in history should cooperate much better with education in political and legal science, because education in history propagates the class truths about our history and the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the complicated experience of the Polish past. Our people's difficult annals are an inexhaustible source of lessons that are still valid and that should be much better utilized in developing the political consciousness of the young generation. The riches of the creative ideas about the state and the class experience of workers and peasants, which is a valuable heritage of our national past, are still little known and are inadequately exploited in the process of education.

Economic education should help develop civic consciousness to a much greater extent. The knowledge of the laws that govern the economy and of its determining factors and mechanisms and the consciousness of the strict interdependence between production, distribution, the results of work, and the opportunities to meet one's needs are a crucial condition for truly developing democracy and for increasing the citizens' influence on decisions and on their implementation.

The party continues to develop educational activities within its own ranks along these lines. At the same time, we deem it necessary for the PZPR, the fraternal parties, all government and administrative echelons, the PRON, social organizations, scientific and cultural centers, the mass media, and the system of education and upbringing to jointly work out and jointly implement a complete long-term program for civic education and for developing our society's socialist political culture. We see in this an important factor in and the necessary condition for the development of people's socialist rule.

Chapter III. Development of People's Socialist Rule

1. The Sejm and Its Legislative and Control Activities

The Sejm and the people's councils, which are representative elected bodies of state power, play a key role in the system of socialist democracy. In the light of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions, increasing the status and role of the Sejm and the people's councils and tightening their links with the people are among the main tasks of socialist renewal.

The Sejm has undergone profound changes in the past few years. Its political position and its legislative and control role has greatly increased. Our parliament continues to be extensively praised for its militancy, initiatives, and activities, which have helped solve our political conflict and promote progress in normalization, agreement, and reforms.

The Sejm is in charge of enormous legislative work, during which the principles of socialist renewal assume specific forms in line with the general laws of socialism and original forms in line with Polish traditions, conditions, and experience.

Considerable progress has been made in democratizing legislative processes. Consultations with society and individual communities on various legal enactments--these consultations may be held several times on occasions--have become a principle. They are based on expert opinion and public polls. The fact that crucial changes are often made in drafts shows that the proposals and demands produced by these consultations are treated seriously.

However, the crux of this work is not the number of acts, but their novel nature, the reform of the socialist system of government, economy, and social life, and the expansion of civic rights and duties based on the principles of social justice and properly conceived self-government

The laws on the people's councils, territorial self-government, trade unions, self-management bodies in state enterprises, on the social and trade union organizations of farmers, and on cooperatives were the basic feature of legislative activities and were meant to extend the range of people's rule.

The acts regulating the legal foundations of the economic reform and activating and modifying its mechanisms ensured the legislative conditions of planning, running, and managing the national economy.

The Sejm has passed a number of legal acts aimed at the more effective protection of the working people's rights, at countering social ills, and at meeting the justified aspirations of many professional communities.

A large part of this extensive legislative activity concerned the spheres that were in need of regulative measures and the problems that often gave rise to extensive discussions and disputes and that profoundly affected the political system and civic rights. The legislative activity, which was tense and conducted in a complicated sociopolitical situation, has in some cases produced side effects in that it laid bare the inadequate internal cohesiveness of the legal system and various loopholes that were at times abused in defiance of the legislator and national interests.

This experience should induce the Sejm and the government to further improve the process by which laws are made. During this process we must implement the legislative tasks contained in the Ninth Party Congress program. At present, it is necessary to pay special attention to further efforts to sort out the laws and to eliminate and modify the regulations that are no longer consistent with the needs of the socialist state. We must also abandon partial solutions in favor of comprehensive solutions.

This calls for greatly improving the quality of the work performed by legislative services.

In 1981-84 the number of departmental normative acts has been reduced from over 16,000 to about 11,000, that is, by 30 percent. We should continue this process because it is dictated by socialist renewal, helps strengthen the rule of law, and safeguards and increases the independence of the participants in public life within the framework of our constitutional political order.

Checking on the effectiveness of the laws and finding out to what extent the norms of the laws are consistent with our social conditions make possible correct solutions is acquiring special significance. Taking into account the critical statements and proposals submitted at the national conference of PZPR delegates, the club or PZPR Sejm deputies proposed that, in line with the Ninth Party Congress resolutions, periodical analyses should be made of the current laws and those to be passed, the course of the implementation of the laws should be evaluated, and their compatibility with the constitution should be examined. This latter initiative will be reflected in the bill on the constitutional tribunal, which is in preparation.

Relations between the Sejm, State Council, government, and state administrative bodies are assuming a new shape. An effective implementation of the Sejm and people's councils' constitutional legislative and control functions has been guaranteed. The supreme chamber of control is once again governed by the Sejm. The State Tribunal has been set up to deal with persons occupying the highest state positions who have violated the constitution and other laws or have abused their office. The Sejm's increased inspirational and control functions are expressed in the Sejm's frequent hearing of government and ministerial reports on the way laws, Sejm resolutions, and government programs are implemented.

Thirty-seven such reports have been heard so far. Public opinion will continue to be regularly informed about the implementation of socially important laws and resolutions. Deputies' motions and questions, of which over 640 have been put, serve to increase the Sejm's control function.

The view that the Sejm is acting energetically is confirmed by the activity of Sejm commissions. These have held over 1,800 meetings and adopted over 450 resolutions and 350 motions. In order to permit Sejm commissions to deal with problems better and overcome a narrow approach to affairs, their number has been reduced to 20.

The activity of Sejm deputies and opinion-making and advisory bodies has also grown. The 160-man socioeconomic council--consisting of representatives from factories, trade unions, and social organizations--plus the 26-man team of Sejm advisors, have widened their scope of activity and begun to make more penetrating assessments, of which the Sejm is taking advantage. The socioeconomic council's work so far indicates the need to further increase its socioprofessional significance and better harmonize the goals of the represented milieus with the goals and needs of society in general.

The Sejm's work is widely publicized in the press, radio, and television, thanks to which citizens may acquaint themselves with the process of exercising authority and view the complexity thereof. The exhaustive information, frequent publication of draft assumptions and bills, in fact, everything that makes the Sejm's work more open to view encourages society's influence on the shaping of laws and legal regulations.

The Sejm's experience, especially the work achieved during its present term of office, indicates the need to give the Sejm more effective control over the implementation and observance of the law. Taking advantage of its powers, the Sejm should guarantee that all state bodies perform their constitutionally defined tasks and functions, see to it that the right conditions exist for citizens to take part in the work of institutions of socialist democracy, and see to it that the state administration acts in accordance with the law and social needs. Important changes have taken place in recent years in this sphere. They should be perpetuated and enhanced.

Of great importance is the preparation of the draft election rules of the Sejm. The preparation of these rules should take into account the experience gained from the people's council elections. The following bills should serve to

increase the role of the Sejm and its deputies: The bill on the rights and duties of deputies and people's councillors, and the amendment to the Sejm's working regulations.

The Sejm is a particularly important forum of joint activity between the PZPR, ZSL, and SK; and of cooperation between these parties and progressive lay organizations of Catholics and Christians. The Sejm is also a forum for independent nonparty milieus. It is therefore a forum for the shaping of a coalitionary method of exercising authority. Increasing the party's leadership role in social and state life, improving its cooperation with other bodies that are independent but which still recognize the PZPR's role, and broadening the social base of running the country are all complementary elements of the process of making political life democratic. The experience gained during the most difficult period, when we were accompanied by allies from the other political parties and by activists from progressive lay organizations of Catholics and Christians, as well as by large numbers of nonparty people, confirms the permanent value of this method of exercising authority.

The contribution of party clubs and deputies circles to the work of the Sejm and to socialist renewal is great. These clubs and circles are still improving their work. We want the PZPR deputies club to play an increasingly greater role in the working out of party stances toward problems involving the development of our statehood and state policy. Important tasks for the club include making the work of deputies in the field more energetic, and tightening their bonds with the electors.

The party believes that increasing the Sejm's constitutional position and functions is proceeding in accordance with the intentions of the Ninth Congress. The above process should be given new values designed to increase the role of the supreme body of state authority in defining and controlling the performance of tasks involving key matters of socioeconomic development.

2. The People's Councils

The Ninth Party Congress indicated the need to strengthen the position and role of the people's councils--the broadest representational forms of citizen participation in the exercise of authority.

The people's councils commenced their term of office on 17 June 1984. The people's council election rules, worked out with the broad participation of society, became a basis for a lively and democratic practice of finding candidates, increased the influence of citizens in the shaping of election programs, and helped give a responsible shape to the very process of voting itself.

Because of the present conditions, the people's council elections were a great political event and an important stage in the process of national accord. The firm majority of voters, supporting the line of accord, struggle, and socialist reforms, was in favor of social calm and socialist renewal.

Representatives of all basic milieus and professional groups found themselves among the ranks of people's councillors. They are a testimony to the broadening social base of government.

The councils are now performing tasks equipped with wider powers. The preliminary work designed to establish an internal structure for these councils is over, and the councils are now laying down plans of action. They attach great importance to election programs and to conclusions voiced during the election campaign. Their tasks also include those whose performance exceeds present possibilities. This raises the importance of using resources sparingly and purposefully, undertaking various initiatives, and encouraging citizens to take part in social pledges, so that those tasks which are at present impossible may be performed in the near future.

A good start by the people's councils does not yet foreshadow further results. We must establish favorable trends by means of activity which meets society's expectations halfway. In the work of the people's councils, very much depends on the attitudes and energy of the councillors and on their feeling of responsibility. Councillors must be guaranteed. Those councillors who were candidates for the first time, and there are almost [figure illegible] of them, should be guaranteed the possibility of becoming acquainted with the rules in force and with good experiences and tested methods of work. It is this on which party cells should lay particular stress during systematic work with teams of PZPR people's councillors. PZPR cells should also increase councillors' ties with the voters, initiate local consultations, and organize meetings between councillors and work forces.

Implementing the Ninth Congress resolution, the party brought about the adoption of the new law on people's councils. The decentralization of powers and the widening of scopes of activity mean that the people's councils now bear considerably greater responsibility for the harmonious development of voivodships, cities, and districts and for satisfying the population's needs. Guaranteeing a better coordination of economic, social, environmental, and financial planning on a regional scale, the law creates new possibilities for the councils to become real managers over their respective territories, and increases the role of the territorial self-management bodies. The law also encourages the better representation of local people's interests, but also permits a better coordination of these interests with the goals of society in general. Thus, it counteracts parochial trends.

Improving housing conditions, including the mobilization of existing reserves in the construction of housing, and the production of building materials; improving economic planning and land utilization; developing the food economy by the proper use of agricultural land; guaranteeing proper land cultivation; helping animal and plant production to develop; protecting the environment; improving the functioning of trade, small-scale production, and the entire services sphere; guaranteeing proper communal services, including education, culture, and medical services; and caring for law and order--this is a far from complete list of topics with which the people's councils have undeniably involved themselves. This also requires closer cooperation between the people's councils and socialized work bodies. These bear great duties toward provincial areas and communities, and the councils should see to it that these duties are carried out. The councils have received wide powers to influence the activity of units of socialized economy, including influence on their creation, and abolition. They should take advantage of these powers consistently. They also possess financial independence in the form of funds which

they receive from local enterprises. The material basis for their activity will be laid down in a new budgetary law and in a law on rural funds. Work on these laws is already at an advanced stage.

Strengthening the self-management function of the people's councils does not limit their activity only to local affairs. The councils bear the constitutional duty to act as an integral part of the uniform system of state authority in a way that suits local needs and possibilities of action. Implementing general state tasks in their respective territories, they have the power and duty to take part in the shaping of state policy, and should coordinate local interests with general social ones. This is encouraged by their powers to give opinions on and encourage draft decisions by central bodies, and inspire new acts.

The people's councils and local bodies of state administration are inseparable components of a cohesive system of local authority. It is necessary at the same time to raise their importance and strengthen the local administration as an element of the above cohesive system. We must make sure at the same time that the people's councils really do perform their high role in the administration and that there is no repetition of the situation that emerged in the 1970's. We must see to it that there is fruitful cooperation between the citizens on the one hand, and between professionals and officials on the other, in the spirit of the new legal regulations. Making full use of their present powers, the councils should firmly oppose bureaucratism, insensitivity, incompetence, mismanagement, and a disregard of citizens and of their needs. These are highly important tasks demanding party influence on the work of the councils.

Of course, the new rules do not mean that the social expectations connected with them will be fulfilled automatically. The law has created a great opportunity. Now everything depends on whether or not this opportunity is fully used. As an inspirer of socialist reforms, the party is keenly interested in guaranteeing the close observance and optimal use of the law. Those councillors who are PZPR members should lead the way in implementing the law. By uniting the broadest possible social forces in this process, PZPR cells and organizations will act closely with the allied political parties, PRON, and social organizations.

3. Self-management in districts and villages should become an important element of the system of socialist people's authority and a general school of socialist principles. There is a great deal of neglect, passiveness, and lack of interest in this sphere on the part of local authorities and local residents. The new legal rules present a basis on which to overcome these negative signs. Based on them, self-management bodies of residents have the chance to become equal partners of the people's councils in matters concerning the inhabitants of parishes and districts.

We know how many tasks there are in this sphere that are possible to perform, and how much neglect there is which cannot be included among the general difficulties. Many of the shortcomings that exist would not have happened if duties had not been neglected and mismanagement not practised.

There is still no shortage of people who do not do what they are supposed to do, and, instead, point their fingers at the central authorities, and indirectly at the system, blaming them for the deficiencies which they themselves could have solved through their own work and resources. They create a climate of impossibility, and discourage others from acting. There are many such situations and examples in various spheres, including in very important areas of life that effect the standard of living and the climate of social coexistence. The party wants the self-management bodies to deal with these matters boldly, energetically, and resiliently. We ask local communities to take these matters into their own hands, demand their solution, and take direct part in their solution. An increasingly broader stream of activity is required, capable not only of making full use of existing resources, but also of increasing these resources. This depends on the social activists and on the help they receive from the party and allied parties, and on citizens in general.

The self-management bodies must be firmly protected against a lack of appreciation from, and especially against being ignored by, the administration, enterprises, and service institutions. It is the duty of local bodies of authority and the state administration to respect the opinions and actions of self-management bodies, support them, not to allow their initiatives to be ignored, organize various forms of competition between districts, and publicize good experiences.

We regard the development of self-management bodies of residents as an integral part of the system of socialist democracy and an important school of citizen participation in government and management. All this defines the importance of the elections to executive committees of self-management bodies of residents.

The party desires that the self-management body elections proceed in a climate of concern for the cares and needs of citizens, and that they provide, to the extent possible, councillors who are dedicated, honest, and bold, and who enjoy the respect of the local community. The party is also anxious that the elections create a new field of activity for PZPR, ZSL, and SD members, and, above all, for nonparty people. This is a way of widening the activity of local elections, and an important stage in the shaping of the social prerequisites for next year's Sejm elections. This is, therefore, a natural field of activity for PRON.

Agricultural and cooperative self-management bodies in rural areas are also an important element of people's authority. The political and legal conditions for reviving the activity of agricultural circles and organizations, rural housewives circles, unions of producers and breeders, and social organizations are being created. We see the above bodies both as representatives of rural opinion and interests, and as joint organizers of rural production, social progress, and rural culture.

Many negative facts point to the need to clearly increase the control functions of the agricultural self-management bodies vis-a-vis the administration, and especially vis-a-vis the agricultural services. The struggle against that which encumbers the daily life and production of farmers and violates the

principles of social coexistence is too weak. More energy and stubbornness is necessary in the struggle against the bureaucratic quagmire, the existence of cliques, favoritism, and corruption, which still occur in matters involving rural life and agriculture.

There exist on the one hand bureaucratic obstacles to social control, and yet on the other hand there is a tendency to the passive and to wait until something which lies within the powers of the farmers themselves is settled higher up. It is the joint task of our party, the ZSL, and all energetic rural forces to overcome both these trends.

Rural areas require many more initiatives designed to develop various social undertakings, spread education, publicize the experiences of leading farmers, and bring about agricultural progress. More and more matters should be settled by the rural residents themselves, with the help of the rural self-management bodies. The party regards these bodies as criticizing and demanding, but creative and responsible partners of the people's councils and of the administration.

Party organizations and party members inside agricultural and cooperative self-management bodies should help create a favorable social climate around the self-management bodies; make sure their activity conforms to the joint agricultural policy of the PZPR and ZSL; strengthen the peasants nature of rural socioprofessional and cooperative organizations; and oppose incompetence, cliques, and favoritism wherever they occur.

There is much to be done to animate self-management bodies, increase the role of social bodies among urban residents, and increase their influence on the functioning of those organizations that play a key role in satisfying social needs.

4. PRON

PRON has a great role to play in the processes of national accord and rebirth and in integrating society around the fatherland's consitutional principles and developments paths. PRON has traveled a long and respectable road since the time of the emergence and dedicated activity of the Citizens Committees for National Salvation. It is becoming a social movement in favor of dialogue and accord between the nation's creative and patriotic forces. It liberates social initiative and energy for the public good. It has a chance to become an important forum for shaping and expressing public opinion.

The party has firmly supported PRON's goals in the building of national accord, broadening the social base of government, making public life more democratic, reforming the economy, consolidating law and order, and morally animating society. As joint signatories of the PRON Declaration, we are acting energetically to fully implement the tasks defined in this declaration. More and more PZPR organizations and cells, respecting the independence and partner-like relations between the signatories and participants in the movement, are contributing their party knowledge, dedication, experience, political energy, maturity, and social sensitivity to it.

The fact of PRON is shaped by harmonious activity by party and nonparty people; cooperation between the PZPR, ZSL, and SD; and cooperation between these parties and groups of lay Catholics and Christians, coupled with increasingly broader participation by nonaligned persons. In this way PRON's activity serves to strengthen the coalitionary system of exercising people's authority and enhance the feeling of responsibility by our party's allies for progress in the life of the country and for the state's authority and prestige.

PRON should express increasingly broader public opinion, aiming at the same time to jointly shape it. Rejecting the false division into "society" and the "authorities," the movement should publicize the fact that the authorities serve society and are an integral part of it. It should point out that both social control over and justified criticism of the authority's actions is necessary, as well as support for undertakings serving the common good.

PRON's influence cannot be established by means of orders. The movement's prestige will be and already is a feature of the activity of its activists and bodies, and of their initiative and consistency in implementing the program's programmatic goals. The young movement which PRON is, has put forth many initiatives concerning important national affairs. We are convinced that the accumulated experiences will bear fruit in the approaching elections to residents self-management bodies, and in the Sejm elections next year.

The possibilities of extending the scope and energy of PRON are far from exhausted. Citizens' participation in public life requires bold initiatives and steps and a firm combatting of the divisions that still exist.

We do not count among the opposition those people who succumbed to hostile demagoguery during a certain period, under the influence of conflicts and bitterness, but who really care for the good of Poland. We are also ready to sit down to honest talks with people who have different programmatic proposals from ours, but who are not guided by aims that are against the system and who respect the PPR constitution. We are sure that many of those who found themselves at the crossroads and remain there will be with us tomorrow. The entire experiences of our 40 years speak in favor of this.

We repeat once again: We close the door to joint participation and joint responsibility for the fate of the nation to no one. Our only opponent is someone who has himself decided to be an opponent and continues to be an opponent despite the obviousness of facts, and thus does not serve Poland's interests.

The PZPR is in favor of increasing PRON's scope; developing platforms of free discussion, initiatives, and forms of action designed to eliminate harmful divisions, vacillation, and lack of confidence, and make people with different views and motivations get to know each other and act together. There is only one criterion: a recognition of the fundamental interests of socialist Poland. We will give the greatest attention to opinions and proposals on this matter.

Our party is and will remain open to PRON initiatives and to those of its National Council and social commissions. We are in favor of a continuation

of dialogue in the form of meetings between the PRON National Council and PRON bodies on the one hand, and the PPR Sejm Presidium and Government Presidium on the other. This we regard as an important way for the social elements represented by PRON to influence state policy. The development of daily activity of PRON field bodies with deputies' teams, people's council, and local bodies of state administration may be of great importance for daily practice.

Life requires a broader scope by PRON and greater influence by it in residential areas and in factories. The daily affairs and vital needs of local communities are a natural field of activity for the movement, and at the same time the best way to counter the danger of formalism and superficial activity.

The activity of social organizations and institutions that have signed the PRON declaration all contribute to PRON's potential. Making correct use of this potential and directing the fragmentary activity of separate milieus into one broad stream is an opportunity that is still far from being exhausted.

In the broad social front of PRON activity, a permanent place should be occupied by various initiatives which refer to the traditions of organized work, initiatives which encourage and organize social activity among local communities. This should neither be regarded as an addition to PRON's political activity, nor as an attempt to push PRON onto the periphery of social life. This is because the implementation of the slogan "society for itself" is a school of citizen-like attitudes, encourages democracy, permits better working and living conditions, and facilitates the battle against evil.

This is a road leading to real people's democracy, one which created a platform for fulfilling the hopes of millions of Poles.

5. Associations

The rich form of associations in Poland is a valuable political solution. Associations serve to satisfy various kinds of social needs and interests, are a forum for the right of citizens to be active; and serve the people, milieus, and the nation.

Over 5,600 associations gather 18 million members. Most of these associations are regional ones. Thirty-four of them possessing special significance for satisfying social needs bear the status of associations of higher quality.

The party appreciates the meaning of this movement, and sees in it prospects for developing society's participation in the solving of various problems, socializing people's attitudes, broadening creativity, and enhancing unbiased activity. A socialist society sees in associations great values connected with the performance of citizens' rights and duties and with a desire to create something which helps people, enriches the lives of individuals and society in general, and satisfies local needs and ambitions.

There is room in our social lives for spontaneous action and a great influx of new initiatives and ideas. The party will appreciate any initiatives and actions

that conform to the constitutional order and which are part of the broad front of social progress and citizens' liberties. We must improve the party's influence on associations and eliminate the bureaucratic vestiges of ordering and directing. The correct way to do this is for party members belonging to associations to exert influence and set an example. We intend PRON to be a platform of joint activity between various associations and to unite their efforts. More associations should be established inside work places, and workers encouraged to join them.

The rich and important sphere of activity by associations should receive legislation that suits the present stage of socialist construction. We are in favor of increasing the influence of associations on individual areas of national and regional policy, and of real partnerlike joint activity between bodies of authority and associations.

We attach particular importance to young people's participation in all forms of social life. This participation contains great possibilities of shaping socialist convictions and energetic social attitudes, liberating creative eagerness, displaying initiative and resourcefulness, and acquiring the ability to act in a group. There is nothing more important for the future of the people and state.

The platform of youth activity consists primarily of the following young people's organizations, which recognize the party's ideological-political leadership: The Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], the Polish Scouts Union [ZHP], the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], and the Polish Students Union [ZSP]. We have expressed our stance toward these organizations' tasks and functions in the Ninth Plenum Resolution. The terms of this plenum are fully binding on all PZPR cells and organizations. We must constantly return to this resolution, enrich it, and improve its practical implementation.

We are in favor of considerably expanding young people's participation in the joint solving of the most important problems in sociopolitical, economic, and cultural life. This is the best training ground for conscious participation in public life. It is particularly important for shaping citizen-like attitudes, and is a source of educational influence on the young generation in the spirit of socialist social ideals. It is also a source of creative activity, and brings about an understanding of the unity between duties and responsibilities.

6. Social Consultations

The Ninth Congress was in favor of developing social consultations and of encouraging responses to conclusions and postulates. These are no longer mere intentions of aims. The practice of social consultations is spreading. As a form of direct participation in government, it is today a constitutional ingredient of socialist democracy. It helps rationalize the state decision-making process. It permits more suitable political solutions, and helps gather social support for these solutions. In this sense, the social consultations are an important part of citizens' education.

On the party's initiative, most of the important decisions made and acts adopted in recent years have been the subject of social consultation. The final shape of these decisions and acts has been arrived at following conclusions, opinions, and postulates voiced by citizens or their representatives.

This applies, for example, to food price increases, the terms of the National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-85 and those of subsequent central plans, the government housing program, and, in the noneconomic sphere, the draft press and higher education laws. The consultations on the draft people's council and territorial self-management law and on the new people's council election rules were an important political event. At the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, consultations on the following draft documents were envisaged: future economic plans and programs, the rules for accepting candidates for institutions of higher education, a draft law on young people, a draft law on worker-peasant inspectorates, a law defining ways of improving the struggle to achieve respect for the law and social discipline, and a draft law on the public order. Some of these drafts have already been submitted to social consultation.

All citizens have the right to take part in consultations. Mass movements such as PRON, trade unions, youth unions, all kinds of social organizations, and self-management bodies occupy a special role in them. The point is to guarantee a representation of views and opinions expressed both on a national scale as well as from a professional, local, or individual point of view.

Implementing the practice of consultations is a complex process. This is because they contain various points of view, and interests sometimes clash. The natural aim to improve life often clashes with the harsh necessities posed by the period of overcoming the crisis.

While consistently developing and improving the consultations system, we should also keep an eye on the difficulties and be aware of the difficulty in making the right choice to solve a particular problem. We must overcome the mistaken conviction that consultations are a form of negotiations between the "authorities" which "give" because they have unlimited resources at their disposal, and "society" which "takes," while forcing concessions. We must also overcome the view put forward by the adversary that consultations are a "safety valve" when unpopular decisions are to be made.

The complexity of the process of making decisions on the basis of social consultations is illustrated by the different opinions presented in 761 work places as to how the decisions of the 16th Central Committee Plenum should be implemented.

For example, some of the participants believed that work places should give as much aid as possible to workers who are building their own homes. Others said that factory social committees should issue recommendations as to who should be granted accommodation and in what order, but factories should not be burdened with the cost of building accommodations. In voivodships where the housing problem is acute, firm support was given for priority to families in the worst material situation, whereas in those voivodships where the housing situation is better, there was less pressure on such preferential system, and opinions were very divided.

Many consultation meetings supported the present system of child benefits, and said that their present level should be maintained. However, there were also differing opinions, and numerous ones at that, some people saying that maternity leave should be abolished altogether, others saying that benefits should only be payable for 1 year, and others saying that the rules for granting these benefits should be made more stringent.

Participants in consultations were clearly divided on the subject of privileges stemming from membership in trade guilds. Some were in favor of preserving these privileges, others were not.

During most consultations, the principle of a strong dependence of wages on work results was supported. Nevertheless, quite a large number of participants were in favor of a unified wage structure for certain professions, any wage differences within these professions being solely the result of differences in working conditions.

Let us say openly that adopting certain plans always involves rejecting other plans or only making fragmentary use of them. Broader interests must prevail over narrower and fragmentary ones. This is an important feature of democracy. The purpose of consultations is to make the best choice, but the consultations themselves are unable to eliminate the need for such a choice.

Efforts to improve the public opinion research system and to increase the role of opinion-giving bodies and scientific and social advisory bodies attached to state administrative bodies are geared to the same purpose as the development of consultations.

It is the duty of bodies of state authority, political organizations, and socioprofessional associations to make full use of the principles of consultation contained in many recent acts. Nevertheless, it is useful to adopt further legal-institutional solutions, especially a law on social consultations. The PRON National Council is working on the draft of such a law, which generalizes the experience gained up to now.

7. Religious Policy

People's Poland is a secular state. The idea of division between church and state, and that of schools and the church within this framework, is the permanent result of the democratic political culture. We have inherited this progressive heritage. Under our political conditions, we are supplementing this heritage by honestly implementing equal rights for all religions and for all citizens regardless of their views toward religion. We consistently heed the principles of freedom of conscience and of worship, as well as toleration in world outlook.

The secular nature of the state and its institutions, including educational and cultural institutions, is an inviolable principle. It is a tested, progressive norm of social life, a guarantee that people of different world outlooks really have equal rights. It is based on a unity of working people's interests and aims, which are not undermined by any differences in world outlook.

The rivalry between various views on the world is an objective truth. We bore this in mind at the 12th and 13th Central Committee Plenums, when we stressed our unchanging and lasting stance toward joint activity by believers and nonbelievers, Marxists and Catholics, and members of other denominations. Everything we have done in these 40 years is a common achievement. Let us recall not only the reconstruction of factories, cities, villages, and houses from the ravages of war, but also churches, chapels, and sacred objects. Let us recall the building of Poland's industrial foundations and the creation of the right conditions for the cultural and educational advancement of the masses. Let us recall the great work of husbanding the regained territories and the chance which the regaining of these lands gave for the development of the spiritual mission of the Roman Catholic Church.

Religious differences are not and cannot be a basis for sociopolitical conflicts. Any division of PPR citizens according to their attitudes toward religion would be artificial and greatly harmful. A socialist state rejects such divisions. No one to whom the good of Poland is dear should introduce them. It is time everyone understood that it is the state's secular nature and its respect for the privacy of one's religious views that create both the possibilities of gathering social energy for the purpose of solving basic problems of today and tomorrow, and the conditions necessary for the church's spiritual activity.

People who go to church take advantage of rights that are fully guaranteed constitutionally. These people also work for the country in factories, building sites, fields, schools and colleges, people's councils, offices, the Sejm, the State Council, and the government. Joint activity between believers and nonbelievers is a current principle in all spheres of life. Tolerance and a readiness and ability to cooperate regardless of differences in world outlook are important features of political culture. Differences in outlook which naturally give rise to discussion and disputes over important ideological issues do not undermine the possibility of cooperating in matters that are important both from the Marxist and from the religious point of view. Social peace, moral order, and personal honesty are important for everyone, regardless of their views. All Poles must share a common concern for peace, the avoidance of nuclear cataclysm, and the permanence of the fatherland's borders. The need for a strong, well-governed, democratic, and just state should also be felt by the churches, whose spiritual mission cannot be properly fulfilled when collective life is in turmoil and when social prestige is deliberately undermined. All this presents a natural basis for dialogue between the state authorities on the one hand and the Roman Catholic Church and all denominations on the other.

The experience of history demands cooperation in basic spheres for the good of society and the individual. Such a stance is being consistently displayed by state representatives during meetings of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission and during working contacts with representatives of other denominations.

We have indicated many times the areas where cooperation between church and state is possible and desirable. Combatting pathology and corruption; bringing people up to respect the law and human dignity; shaping and propagating

citizens' and government ethics; consolidating family unity; and developing a readiness to give help, educate, and spread the truth that the fortunes of all of us depend on a common effort and honest and efficient work, and that today's generations share a common responsibility for the fortunes of the fatherland, their great heritage--these are the foundations on which thoughts and actions should be united, with a respect for the role of the state and for the autonomy of the churches.

There has been no shortage of confirmation over the 40 years since the war that this life of dialogue and cooperation is real. The state gives the churches both legal and political guarantees which encourage the performance of their mission. Everyone knows that the Roman Catholic Church in the PPR has considerably extended its material base and is still doing so.

We always respect and recognize clergymen of various denominations for whom the abovementioned spheres of joint activity are a vital part of social practice. The state's strength and the national cause are helped by those religions that have made work ethics, the conscientious performance of citizens' duties, honesty, modesty, respect for the law, and morality the basis of their teachings.

Relations between the state and the church are constantly developing, though dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church does not take place without difficulty.

By far, not all clergymen see the need for constructive coexistence between the socialist state and the Roman Catholic Church. Cases where religious emblems and places are used for nonreligious purposes, with the knowledge and agreement of clergymen, and sometimes even with their inspiration, do not serve the above joint activity. Pilgrimages and services where antistate songs are sung instead of hymns or where texts which are a beautiful and patriotic tradition are deliberately distorted; political harangues delivered in churches by lay instigators, who instead of spreading the gospel of love propagate the liturgy of hatred; the distribution of emblems of the opposition and of illegal publications inside some churches--these are all dangerous activities which exceed the spiritual mission of the church. Here one must also mention the militancy of some of the religious publications that are appearing, publications which sometimes carry articles that clash with the constitutional principles of relations between the state and the church. Unfavorable trends are also appearing in some Catholic intelligentsia clubs.

This problem is not limited to extreme forms. The above examples are but an extreme illustration of the considerably broader trend of political clericalism, of a desire to lead the church beyond the broad framework of its spiritual activity, and of an expansion which violates the fundamental principles of division between the church and the state.

Unfortunately, there is no shortage of evidence of this in the speeches of some key church representatives and Catholic theologians and philosophers, who are trying to turn this trend into a doctrine and even give it programmatic status, putting forth the concept whereby the church's social teachings should penetrate the entire life of the country. They attack our state because

of its "atheist" character. And yet they know that it is not an antireligious state, but a secular one, one which respects religions and churches. They should also know, including from church history, that one cannot reserve history. This would give pleasure only to the most avowed enemies of Poland.

We are in favor of lasting, good relations between the state and the church and religious denominations. Constructive coexistence and joint activity is possible. Everyone who cares for his country; who wants it to be successful, strong, and authoritative; and who wants to change it for the better through the joint effort of all Poles wants this.

Chapter IV. The Development of Trade Unions and Workers Self-Management Bodies--Bodies of Workers Democracy

The party is the supreme political organization of the workers class and the chief weapon of workers democracy, which is also being formed by the extensive social movement covering trade union activity and self-government activity by working people. A condition behind the socialist nature of this movement is its ideological-political ties with the party, expressed both by respect for the PZPR's leadership role, as well as by the influence which trade unions and workers self-management bodies have on the formation of party programs.

1. Trade Unions

At its 10th session almost 2 years ago, the Central Committee appealed to all working people to be active in the rebirth of trade unions and to take part in creating a new stage in the history of the Polish trade union movement. This appeal was first answered by dozens of people, then by hundreds of thousands, and finally by millions of working people. Although the reborn trade unions are still in the formation stage, the movement is already the largest workers class and working people's organization. It has cells in almost every factory and gathers over 4.8 million members.

A year ago, at the meeting in the Baildon Steelworks, trade unionists mentioned with satisfaction individual examples of thousands of workforces where there were already trade unionists. Today the list of these plants and mines is very long. One can say that there are entire industrial branches where most of the members belong to trade unions. Such is the case with mining, the teaching profession, and socialized farmers. Some national trade unions have over 400,000 members. These are facts of great political, social, and moral significance.

Those who still have doubts and fears are gradually becoming convinced that the reemerging trade unions are authentic and that party and state policy in this key area is stable. The elimination of some working people's mistrust toward the trade unions depends largely on a growth in trade union activity.

Most of the members of trade unions are workers. Young people also join. The rank-and-file authentic nature of the complex trade union rebirth process is a great value.

The trade union movement is an irreplaceable platform for integrating working people and workforces. Members of all the previous trade union streams already belong to it. For those who are still not in the unions, the doors are open wide. They will come when they are convinced that the existing trade union movement is a credible and firm representative of working people. They will come if members of the new unions hold a dialogue with them on the subject of constructive solutions to working issues, agreements, and an end to the disputes and struggles imposed on the workers class by hostile outside forces. This we regard as an important political task for the party and for its members within the trade union movement.

We confirm the principle that it is not where someone comes from that is important, but whether he wants to take part in repairing the Republic according to socialist political principles. The basic interests of the workers class and of working people are similar, regardless of where they work, what they do, whether or not they belong to the party, or what they think about individual matters. Therefore, these interests can only be effectively represented and defended together.

The party, faithful to the Ninth Congress line, has confirmed many times by its approach toward the trade unions that it wants to be and is a guarantor of the unions' authenticity, independence, and self-management. Today we say once more: "Without self-managing trade unions that are independent of the administration and which cooperate with the party in defense of the rights and interests of the people and in defense of the socialist system, the socio-political system in our country will be neither democratic nor efficient."

The above declaration made at the 10th Central Committee Plenum is of permanent and programmatic significance for the party. In the trade union sphere, it is a confirmation of a stance which firmly rejects the possibility of any return both to the pre-August distortions and to the pre-December anarchy. While respecting the self-management and independence of the trade unions, the party cannot lose sight of the duty to shape and strengthen the trade union movement's socialist orientation and make it adopt a responsible approach toward the state.

Observing the need and possibility to broaden the programmatic activity of trade unions, the party will actively support initiatives designed to:

--Defend the interests of the workers class and working people and fulfill their justified expectations;

--make trade unions and the entire trade union movement participate in increasing the national income by methods that are appropriate for a social movement;

--improve the effectiveness of the way in which trade unions influence working conditions, including the fuller use of social work inspectorates;

--make trade unions take part in broadening the cultural activity of the workers class and developing sports and tourism;

--make trade union bodies take a wider part in the social education process inside factories;

--make trade unions take part in the development and modernization of professional training.

The trade union movement, being a non-state social organization, is an integral part of the constitutional political system. It is independent of the organizational, financial, and personnel angles, but it is still a political social organization. This determines to a fundamental degree the relationship between a party that leads society during the building of socialism on the one hand, and the class trade union movement on the other. It also determines how and by what principles the trade union movement should participate together with the state in the implementation of working people's interests.

We support the development and improvement of trade union participation in the shaping of state decisions at all levels. We will be consistent in obtaining, analyzing, and implementing trade union opinions and conclusions, both those concerning day to day matters and those concerning the basic paths of the country's socioeconomic development and the methods of implementing them.

This has been confirmed by the joint consultations with trade unions on the subject of socioeconomic plans, by the fact that the Politburo has discussed trade union affairs with their participation, and by the practice of direct government-trade union contacts.

The trade unions should control the implementation of state socioeconomic policy and adopt the broadest possible powers to settle issues concerning the standard of living, work protection, recreation, and working people's cultural needs.

We will encourage a considerable increase in the powers of trade unions to make use of factory social and housing funds, as well as encourage a change in the rules for creating trade unions and a return of traditional areas of activity for trade unions. We recognize the need to work out permanent rules by which programs and aims of socioeconomic policy should be in consultation with the trade unions and to work out rules on the signing of collective agreements with the trade unions that guarantee the right to well organized and profitable work.

Approving the demands for a statutory increase in the powers of the trade unions, we regard it as purposeful to prepare an amendment of trade union law. This amendment should, among other things, define the functions of unions, self-management bodies, and managements in factories more precisely, and better adopt the law to the rules of the economic reform.

Believing that the trade union movement's political position should be strengthened, we approve of trade union efforts aimed at integration. The party and state are keenly interested in strong trade unions.

The political unity of the Polish trade union movement does not rule out differences between individual milieus and organizations. Being one of the platforms for shaping and consolidating the unity of the workers class--the chief social force in a socialist system--the trade unions express various and differing views stemming from individual milieus and divisions. Hence our party's support for activities which encourage not a mechanical or artificial trade union unity, but a real one.

The party is and will be consistent in heeding the principle whereby it is the trade unionists themselves who should determine the organizational shape of the trade unions. Just as the structure and scope of the hundred-plus national trade unions and trade union federations are the brainchild of the trade unionists themselves, so too it is their business to give an organizational shape to a future all-Polish trade union representation and determine when and how it should be formed.

The conditions in favor of trade union unity are at the same time a fundamental argument against the political breakup of the trade union movement which could lead to antisocialist activity, as the bitter experience prior to 13 December 1981 shows.

In the minds of working people, these experiences shape and perpetuate the view that a political breakup of the trade unions has nothing to do with authentic renewal and that it must lead to a weakening and endangering of socialist Poland, in other words to a repetition of recent history. We are convinced that the trade unionists themselves will deal with this problem correctly.

Those party members active inside the trade union movement face the duty to excel in trade union activity; take part in the shaping of socialist relations inside factories; prevent conflicts; and improve joint activity between party organizations, trade unions, workers self-management bodies, and factory managements.

Irreconcilable with the above duties is the fact that some of our comrades still do not belong to the trade unions. In the present situation, a party member's place in is the trade union movement.

A subject of interest and assessment by party organizations and cells should be the attitude of factory managements and technical supervisory teams toward the trade unions. Encouraging respect and understanding for the position and role of the trade unions, we must combat the tendency toward paternalism and tendencies to disregard information from trade unions and to treat them as obstacles to efficient management.

2. Workers Self-Management Bodies

The party's Ninth Congress regarded the following as one of the main tasks in strengthening socialist democracy: "The creation of workers self-management bodies in enterprises, equipped with executive and control powers that suit the hopes and needs of workers, especially those in key industrial premises."

There are self-management bodies in over 90 percent of enterprises already. There are almost 129,000 people active within workers councils. Almost 60 percent of these are workers. Today, at a time when the first term of office of workers councils has passed, doubts and disputes about the interpretation of the legal rules governing the activity of the workers self-management bodies are disappearing. There are more and more examples illustrating that these self-management bodies are dealing with important economic problems. In many enterprises, self-management bodies have adopted resolutions aimed at improving the efficiency of management, connecting wages systems with work productivity and quality, and saving material, fuel and energy consumption. Some resolutions also involve a rationalization of employment. This is the proper way for a workers self-management body to act. Nevertheless, not all bodies have yet become energetic centers of initiative, enterprise, and control. Not everywhere have permanent forms of self-management body activity taken shape and proper relations between the self-management body, on the hand, and the factory trade union and management on the other appeared. It is natural that these groups sometimes have different views, which stems from differences in such a way that it enables the interests of the factory and its workforce to be coordinated with the interests of society in general, and the social needs of workforces to be coordinated with the requirement for efficient work and management.

Workers self-management bodies are one of the basic forms of socialist democracy and an important part of the managerial system. They are an inseparable component of our economic reform. This is the way to make the production, management, and administration processes increasingly social, and also the way to improve all the indicators of enterprise activity and lead to organizational and scientific-technical progress.

However, it would be wrong to shoulder the self-management bodies with the chief responsibility for the efficiency of enterprises. This responsibility obviously rests on the shoulders of the economic management cadres. In accordance with the rules of the economic reform, we regard it as essential to perpetuate the practice of recruiting enterprise management cadres by means of competitions.

Self-management is not only a political requirement, and not only a legal one. It is a way of increasing working people's feeling of joint management and joint responsibility, and of fulfilling mature workers aspirations.

Workers self-management bodies are developing under complex ideological, political, and organizational conditions. Political adversaries are, on the one hand, voicing demagogic slogans about an alleged suppression of the idea of self-management, and yet on the other hand are not giving up trying to infiltrate some self-management bodies and force them into activity that clashes with the law. This gives our party and its organizations and cells all the more the duty to combat both the disintegrating and narrow-minded trends which still make themselves felt sometimes, and the bureaucratic and technocratic attitudes which clash with the letter and spirit of the reform and consist of a lack of desire for workers democracy, a lack of faith in its creative possibilities, and a failure to take into account the social element in the life of a factory. Much depends on the attitudes of managements, the way they act, and their readiness to cooperate in making rational decisions.

It is the duty of party organizations to systematically and patiently educate workers self-management body activists. It is necessary to unite the interests of work forces with the implementation of general social tasks and with the development of the entire national economy, propagate knowledge of the laws and mechanisms of economic life, and establish a feeling of reality.

Neither can PZPR organizations remain indifferent toward the autocratic tendencies shared by some managerial cadres. It is essential to have control, assessment, and educational work which shape a proper attitude toward self-management bodies inside factories.

The shaping of proper relations between workers self-management bodies and the trade unions should be based on a recognition of the necessity of both of them; a mutual respect of rights, duties, and roles; and equal joint activity. It will be necessary to better harmonize the legal solutions contained in the different laws governing the workers self-management bodies and trade unions.

The stance and energy of the party is of fundamental importance for the correct development of workers self-management bodies. The party must be present in their work, especially in the shape of comrades who have been elected to these bodies. The party's presence must manifest itself in the stance of party members toward the most important problems tackled by the self-management bodies. Party organizations are responsible for an authentic and proper path of self-management body activity. Let us say clearly: One of the basic criteria for good party work is concern for workers self-management bodies and for their rank and prestige in enterprises. There can be no efficient work by self-management bodies without the party's support, inspiration, and influence.

Chapter V. Perfecting the State Administration, Consolidating Its Ties with Society, and Improving the System of Control

1. Perfecting the Work of the Administration

Developing the institutional and political possibilities for working people's participation in management and administration is the primary sphere of the socialist renewal of political life. The second sphere, inseparable from the first, is improving the quality of the executive-administrative activity of state bodies. For socialist democracy needs an efficient and effective performance of decisions and a consistent execution of rights and duties.

"The condition necessary for developing socialist democracy," the Ninth Congress Resolution says, "is a strong and trusted state, one that serves the citizens, as well as an efficient and discreet state apparatus. A strong state and a prestigious state apparatus are only possible when there is a daily practice of authentic people's authority, self-management, openness of public life, and social control over all areas of this life."

A good administration acts within the framework of the law, in close connection with society, and under social control. It has efficient effective instruments of authority at its disposal. An efficient system of people's authority requires dedicated and competent officials who, discharging their duties in a spirit of service toward the community, are able to guarantee respect for the law and the performance of citizens duties.

The party is also aiming to increase society's influence on the administration as well as to establish its bodies' political position. We are in favor of enhancing controls and further combatting the weaknesses in the functioning of the administration. At the same time, we are defending the administration against demagogic criticism, unjustified generalizations of dishonesty and shortcomings, and against the effects of a lack of social discipline.

Many fundamental and favorable changes have occurred in the administration's organization and work style in recent years. These changes have given the administration the tasks of defending the constitutional order, overcoming the crisis, reforming the state and democratizing the method of exercising authority. The state of the cadres has changed to a considerable degree, and assessment criteria have become more stringent. An important reform of the central bodies of administration has occurred, the number of economic ministries has been reduced, and the powers and duties of a range of ministries have been brought to order. The organization of local bodies of state administration has adapted to the needs stemming from the law on people's councils and local self-management bodies.

Work "behind an open curtain" has become a permanent feature of the government; the government has begun to present broad information about its activities; the government press spokesman's functions have been broadened considerably; RZECZPOSPOLITA is being published as a government organ; the "Government Monitor" appears on television; field sessions of the government presidium take place, as well as joint sessions with PRON representatives, National Culture Council representatives, and trade unionists; and members of the government give numerous interviews and meet regularly with various milieus, especially inside factories. It is now the government's constant practice to hold social consultations and take advantage of various consultative-advisory bodies, including the Consultative Economic Council. The Public Opinion Research Center, set up for the needs of the government, plays a very useful role. It is becoming a permanent habit to ask for the opinion of eminent experts and scholars, especially those in the Polish Academy of Sciences, as an important way of optimizing government decisions. Many similarly useful initiatives and energetic activities are taking place at voivodship, city, and district levels.

The increased openness of the work of the government and of the central bodies of state administration must be accompanied by open activity by their field bodies. This is an important condition if they are to gain social confidence and at the same time be a form of social control over the work of the administration. This control is encouraged by the broadening of citizens' rights and of the scope of social organizations as defined in a series of new laws.

The law on state administrative officials adopted 2 years ago has brought many useful features to the work of the administration. The "Code of Duties of PPR State Officials" and its accompanying document entitled "The Rights of the Citizen and Duties of an Official in PPR State Offices" are an expansion of the legal-ethical basis of mutual relations between citizen and official. Propagating their contents will improve the work of the state administration at all levels, ranging from the central bodies right down to the lowest regional bodies and public services. Making the contents of these documents

get through to the minds of officials of the socialist state is an important task facing PZPR organizations and members inside offices and public services. It is also necessary to continue rationalizing the state administrative structure. The government leadership attaches appropriate importance to this. Among other things, ministers and heads of central offices have been obligated to submit by the end of March 1985 a report on simplifications to the structure of their respective offices. An important opinion-giving and control function here should be played by party cells and organizations active in the above offices.

At the same time, one should tidy up regional higher than primary administrative structures above rural council level, which usually cover areas that do not overlap. This makes it both difficult for a citizen to gain access to an office, and encumbers the functioning of the offices themselves.

The issue of excessive growth of the administration has been touched upon. In several cases it is still possible to reduce the number of state employees without harming the performance of duties. This will be done. New justified needs also emerge here and there. But comparisons with other countries show that we generally have a numerically modest and inexpensive state administration. This administration should have at its disposal cadres and resources to enable it to perform its duties toward society well.

Accusations about excessive growth can, however, be applied to the economic and cooperative administration. There is still a lot to do on this subject. In accordance with the new economic mechanism, the duty to do something about it rests mainly on the independent and self-managing enterprises and cooperatives. It is their managing bodies that should seek ways of reducing the costs of management, work organization, and administrative control over production, and seek ways of rationalizing the work of enterprises at the same time. The government, however, should continue work in improving the administrative structures and defining in a more readable and coherent way the scope of the authorities concerning management over the economy.

One of the conditions for the proper functioning of the state administration is also a further review of the law and an assurance that relations between citizens and offices are based on socially acceptable and clear rules.

A respect for the state, an acceptance of its activities, a knowledge of one's rights, and a resultant willingness to discharge duties are born out of the daily experiences of society. This determines the political importance of the work of all administrative bodies and state officials.

The work of the administration, especially that part of it that is in direct contact with the public, still leaves a lot to be desired. It is still necessary to simplify the way in which citizens affairs are settled. Citizens must frequently wander from floor to floor, desk to desk, and window to window concerning the simplest matters. They must still fill out long questionnaires, deposit statements, and collect successive signatures and stamps. The government has been undertaking appropriate activity to remedy this situation and is still doing so. Nevertheless, the elimination of the bureaucratic quagmire

depends to a major extent on the proper shaping of the scope of officials and on the international organization; in other words, this also involves influence by party members on the activity of a given office. There are already numerous examples of efficiently functioning administrative bodies that have received this very influence.

Combatting the phenomena which cause mutual ill-feeling between citizens and offices remains an important task. These phenomena include lack of diligence, sluggishness bordering on arrogance, incompetence resulting from a lack of professional knowledge or experience, and ignorance of the law or a casual attitude toward it.

One can encounter the greatest amount of negligence and soullessness in various institutions and service points forming part of the broad services sphere, an area governed by the activity of the public services. In more than one post office, bank, health clinic, trade outlet, transportation office, or agricultural service, one received the impression that, judging from the way the above institutions work, they have forgotten about the citizen and forgotten that his needs are the basic reason for their existence. Institutions closing their shutters for any reason whatsoever, employees absent during working hours, demands for fees exceeding the established level, and glaring waste--all these are frequent phenomena. They should be firmly combatted.

A special criterion for assessing the functioning of administrative bodies is their attitude toward the letters, complaints and comments that they receive. Clear progress has been made in recent years, especially since the Ninth Plenum Resolution, in the way these letters and complaints are dealt with and the way the views of citizens are used in order to improve the situation in various spheres. Complaints and comments addressed to party cells, state bodies, administrative and economic units, and mass media, reflect social attitudes, problems, and grievances, and point out the issues demanding a solution in the spheres of social life and in the work of the state and economic administration. Many of these complaints involve not individual and personal matters, but broader, social ones. That is a sign of citizen-like sensitivity that is worthy of the highest respect, and a sign that socialist political culture is shaping itself. Complaints and comments from the population create a credible picture of what society expects from the functioning of state bodies. They have to be settled with due care and attention. One must not ignore signs of negligence or disregard toward the above signals from citizens, and a failure to react properly toward them.

Activity in the above sphere is opening up a broad field of initiative for party members and organizations working in state offices and institutions.

2. Work with Cadres

The Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress stressed the importance of a proper cadre policy in the party and state. In accordance with its recommendations, the 13th PZPR Plenum adopted "The Chief Principles of PZPR Cadre Policy."

Uniform rules for selecting, assessing, and controlling cadres, and for allocating and distributing leadership cadres in a rational way were defined.

The increase in requirements is accompanied by a broadening of the social base for choosing cadres, which now includes the search for valuable nonparty professionals, especially young and talented people possessing high professional and ethical qualifications.

We are counting on ideological people, people who have been tested in action and who possess social prestige, people who know how to implement state policy effectively and correctly and who know how to lead people and encourage them by their own example to work efficiently and energetically. We should consistently see to it that persons occupying responsible positions have the same professional, political and ethical qualifications. The law on state officials emphasized the need to heed the above requirements, sharpens the criteria for selecting state officials, introduces a trial period during their initial stage of employment, and stresses the need to constantly raise qualifications.

Leadership cadres are obliged to act according to uniform principles, to care for the socialist state's interests and values within the framework of these same legal principles, to represent the state's interests, and be guided by the state's goals. That is how people in high positions should behave, regardless of whether they have been nominated or selected through competition; whether or not they work in party cells, or whether they work in central bodies or local ones. The same duty applies to those who manage enterprises, schools, colleges, theaters, and other institutions of political, state or socioeconomic life.

Assessments of the qualifications and performance of cadres, political controls by party cells of the attitudes and work results of leadership cadres, and the power to influence personnel decisions made by state, self-management, social, and professional bodies are inseparable and complementary components of cadre policy.

We attach special importance to forming a cadre reserve and to controlling its development. This is essential in order to eliminate casual and incorrect personnel decisions. This reserve cannot be a closed group. The current principles of creating a cadre reserve encourage the promotion of young people. There have been more and more young people in cadre functions since 1982. Out of the total of about 40,000 people appointed to leadership posts at all levels since that year, 15,000 are young people aged up to 35. Over one-fifth of these are women.

Competitions are an important way of cleaning candidates for leadership posts, especially in the economic administration. In accordance with the law on state enterprises, these competitions have become a universally used instrument of cadre policy in the economy. They permit exact checks of cadre qualifications and are an expression of the acceptance of cadres by workforces and of their sociopolitical and professional qualifications. This practice of gleaning candidates for leadership posts through competition requires further improvement and support by party organizations and cells.

A correct and planned transfer of cadres between individual sectors of sociopolitical and administrative-economic life helps to make better use of their

abilities and experience. This does not mean that "carousels of posts" should be tolerated. The principle is in force whereby people who fail to discharge their duties and who act incorrectly must be dismissed forthwith, and they may not occupy a similar post. An energetic cadre policy should halt incompetence, sluggishness, laziness, arrogance, and faulty and ineffective methods of leadership.

Severe measures are resorted to if necessary. Over 1,000 persons have been dismissed from leadership posts for badly discharged duties in recent years, and the number of those who received disciplinary penalties has been several times greater. This practice is being continued. Leadership cadres are still being dismissed as a result of reviews, inspections, and controls. Practice shows that such severe methods of cadre policy have a positive influence.

Increasing the political and professional caliber of leadership cadres is assuming increasing importance. This requires above all a full use of existing training facilities. The academy of social sciences has been founded. The activity of the intervoivodship party schools and cadre training centers is being perfected. The functioning of the postgraduate training center for state administrative employees will be improved. Analytical-preparatory work has been undertaken in order to create an academy of administration and management, an institution that will prepare cadres for the needs of state bodies.

The training and self-improvement of cadres in the party, and state and economic administration must be a continuous process and should be regarded as a duty of work and an essential condition for promotion. Many correct activities have been undertaken with this in mind. These include getting leadership cadres acquainted with the economic reform. Training work is an important task of party cells and organizations, as well of administrative bodies.

Clear principles and criteria in cadre policy, including the ways of selecting, promoting, and assessing people in leadership posts, are of fundamental importance. Frequent meetings with working people and appearances in the mass media help public opinion become acquainted with the profile and views of cadres and enable the public to assess their personalities and characteristics. For personal characteristics are revealed during direct contacts with society and during confrontation with society's opinion, and in this way society's sensitivity and feeling of responsibility is increased. This fully applies to all party, state, economic, and social activists.

The party carries the chief responsibility for cadre policy in a socialist state. It therefore has the right to recommend personnel and approve applications for leadership posts at central and local level, and then control the way these posts are filled. In accordance with the adopted "Methods of Procedure by Party Cells When Appointing Leadership Cadres," personnel decision may not be made by one person, but by statutory cells or their executive bodies.

Primary party organizations play a special role in cadre activity. Every PZPR member applying for a leadership post must have a reference from his party organization. Primary party organizations are also obliged to make periodic

assessments of cadre policy in their respective enterprises and institutions. They may and should demand specific measures aimed at removing the distortions and shortcomings in this sphere. For our party, cadre policy is one of the basic features of its leadership role in society and the state. This policy should take into account the economic, social, and political conditions, needs, and requirements of the socialist state. Its basic goal is to guarantee efficient and effective management over all areas of the country's life.

3. The System of Controls

We attach great importance to the careful checking of the results of activity undertaken, to assessing the efficiency of bodies and institutions, and to their concern for working people's interests.

This gives the system of control in the state special importance. The supreme function of this control is to monitor the legal and full performance of tasks and duties by state institutions and bodies. This is one way of recognizing and eliminating negative phenomena likely to lead to distortions in the functioning of the state apparatus and in public life.

The system of control is created by: controls by the relevant representative bodies, sociopolitical organizations, and specialized professional control bodies; and internal controls, mainly in the form of mandatory official controls. The following are active as far as legal control is concerned: courts, prosecutor's offices, the State Economic Tribunal, and party tribunals acting under administrative procedure. Organizational units such as banks, customs offices, and the Citizens Militia also carry out their own form of control.

Controls by society are an important supplement to the system of control. They support the activity of representative bodies, bodies of professional control, and social institutions, and illustrate the right of citizens to uncover phenomena which are against the public interest.

The Sejm and the people's councils are equipped with significant powers to control the work of the administration. Their ability to encourage and coordinate control activity by self-management bodies and trade unions and to organize their participation in professional controls is important. It is a task of the PZPR Deputies Club and of party advisory teams to see to it that full use is made of these possibilities.

The conclusions stemming from social and professional controls should form the basis for an honest analysis of the work of administrative bodies and economic units.

Workers councils have wide powers of control. They have the right to control the entire activity of enterprises, with special regard to rational management. This control is therefore an enterprise's control over its own work. However, many features indicate that, so far, the workers councils have been concentrating mainly on decisionmaking, with a clear disregard of their control functions. Party organizations should see to it that this state of affairs changes.

We are counting on trade unions to perform energetic controls. They should cooperate in eliminating phenomena which negatively influence working conditions and the life of workers collectives.

Trade unions and other social organizations have statutory powers to control specified areas of activity. Representatives of these organizations take part in various forms of organized control to suit the needs of society; they take part in the work of the Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline; in the work of the Commission for the Struggle Against Speculation; and in other control actions.

Social controls form a backdrop and support for undertakings by professional control bodies, which function continuously and systematically.

It is essential to broaden the front of battle against breaking the law, against illegal advantages and privileges, and against a neglect of duties and breach of discipline.

Letters and complaints from citizens contain signs of negative social phenomena. They are also published in the press and broadcast over the radio and television. We support energetic activity by the press, radio, and television in revealing negative phenomena of social life and then informing the public about resultant actions and conclusions. Signs of evil and of an improper functioning of institutions and other discrepancies should be checked every time by professional control bodies and social control bodies cooperating with them.

An example of proper reaction to incorrect phenomena are the comprehensive voivodship controls carried out by the Main Regional Inspectorate, which avails itself of the experiences gained from similar actions performed by the Armed Forces Inspectorate and military operational groups. The effectiveness of these controls has been determined by repeated controls and by the consistent execution of the conclusions stemming from them.

Controls have revealed that there is still much negligence in many areas in life. There are many discrepancies in the work of trade, the housing administration, the health service, agriculture, the post office, the Polish State Railroad, and communal services.

Improving the system of state control requires joint activity by all state and social bodies. The following conditions must be fulfilled if the controls are to be effective:

--It is not enough to reveal results, but also to establish the causes of a negative state of affairs. Removing these causes is the basic goal of control actions;

--actions should concentrate on the most important problems on a national scale and on the most important problems involving a given milieu, and these actions should deal with the weaknesses and shortcomings that cause the greatest amount of social harm;

--penetrating controls must be accompanied by iron consistency in carrying out all the conclusions stemming from the controls;

--supervision and internal control inside state and economic administrative bodies, factories, industrial branches, rural districts, voivodships, and ministries, all of which should regard these controls as their ally, should become considerably more effective.

The system of control requires efficient coordination. It is necessary to accelerate the formation of a joint action front by bodies of professional, party, and social control, and concentrate their efforts on checking matters that are of fundamental sociopolitical significance. The PZPR Politburo's resolution of 16 October 1984 defines the tasks in this sphere. The party will increase the significance of controls in the state, make broad use of their results, and support the firm implementation of their conclusions.

Today one can already say that consultations have brought a rich crop of various and often diverging opinions. There is a dominant concern to guarantee the practical effectiveness of the future inspectorate. Many postulates deal with this inspectorate's proper position inside the state control system so far. In particular, the need was stressed to make the existing system of control more effective; coordinate the work of control institutions better; and improve the activity of professional control bodies, supervision, and various forms of internal control inside factories.

The Central Committee Secretariat ordered worker-peasant inspectorates to carry out in the final quarter of this year pilot controls in those voivodships that have announced their readiness for it. These controls have been undertaken on the basis of the legal rules in force according to three separate organizational variants. The point is to test in practice the principle of appointing control groups, test the forms and scope of their work, and cooperate with professional control bodies in implementing the conclusions gained from the controls. On the basis of this, and with full use of the results of the consultations, final decisions will be made on the appointment of a worker-peasant inspectorate.

Chapter VI. Consolidating Law, Order, and Social Discipline; Shaping a Legal Culture

1. Law and Order in Social Life, the Administration, and the Economy

Socialist democracy is a rule of law. Legal rules express the primary goals and values of our system. The law suits the goals of workers class rule and that of working people in cities and villages, and lays down citizens rights, liberties, and duties. The law defines the norms and framework of social life, provides law and order, and regulates and improves social coexistence.

The Ninth Congress recognized that "the process of socialist renewal requires the total recognition of the principles of law and order as a condition for the functioning of social justice." Our party's role indicates the party's particular responsibility for the formation, observance, and execution of the law, as well as its duty to firmly support it and not allow it to be broken. The party believes its task is to struggle to achieve a universal respect for the law within its own ranks and within every state administrative body,

organizational unit, institution, social organization, and also by citizens in general. The principle that the law applies to everyone must be consistently observed in all areas of social and political life.

There can be no room inside state bodies and social institutions for people who place themselves above the law. There can be no toleration of anyone who infringes the legal order. There can and will be no room for lawlessness in Poland.

Applying the law to the needs of today and to the needs of socialist renewal, concern for a strengthening of law and order, and the observance of social discipline illustrate the activity of our party, allied parties, PRON, the Sejm, and the government. Earlier in this document we presented the fruitful efforts of recent years in this sphere. We also described the activity aimed at improving the administration and the system of state control.

As an example in this sphere one can mention the activity of the Supreme Administrative Court, which in 1983 examined about 10,000 complaints from citizens who objected to decisions that had been made. The court found that almost 40 percent of these complaints were justified. Although the number of decisions involved is only a small part of the total number of decisions made (in 1983 administrative bodies issued over 11 million decisions), the above figures do indicate the need to constantly see to it that administrative bodies fully observe the law, and also stress the importance of the Supreme Administrative Court as a tool for protecting the rights and interests of citizens.

There is a growing importance of controls by courts and prosecutor's offices in order to see that the law is being observed by administrative bodies and social institutions and organizations. This area of activity by the courts and prosecutor's offices must be further improved.

The recently adopted law on the Supreme Court confirms the political role of this supreme judicial body, strengthens its position vis-a-vis other state bodies, and gives it new powers in the formation and coordination of the legal system. The new law on the system of general courts will also be important for improving the judicial system. We believe that the constitutional principle of judicial infallibility should be strengthened, and that the basic duties of courts concerning the protection of the socialist system, state interests, social property, and citizens rights should be broadened. Meeting the demands of the scientific and legal milieu halfway and conforming to the stance of the trade unions whose opinions we have obtained, the law foresees the inclusion of labor and social security tribunals in the general judicial system. This will simplify and shorten procedure, and create uniform rules in such important citizens affairs. Work is also continuing on a new law governing the prosecutor's office of the PPR.

An important area of struggle for law and order is the economy. Cases of unjustified profiteering in the private sector are sharply criticized. Cases of price hikes, dishonest calculations, the unpunctual fulfillment of contracts, waste, and mismanagement are still alarming. Rules governing the quality of goods and service's including those destined for exports, are still being

broken. Environmental protection rules are being violated. There are frequent breaches of work security and hygiene, carelessness in the protection of public property, a disregard of fire rules, and a lack of basic order.

These phenomenon are a serious flaw in the national economy. They show that there are serious inconsistencies in the work of internal control bodies. They are severely condemned by society. They should be firmly combatted with the help of existing legal, penal, and administrative measures. The civic responsibility of socialized and private enterprises for activities that breach the public interest should also be firmly implemented.

Observing the law in production, management, trade, services, construction, and transportation is an integral part of law and order in the state. It is the State Economic Tribunal, the legal services of enterprises, and social organizations inside enterprises that bear the chief responsibility for the rule of law in the economy. The party members working in the above bodies have a great role to play. The abovementioned responsibility also rests on the shoulders of every employee, who should feel that he is joint manager of the national wealth.

2. The Struggle Against Crime

Observing the law and strengthening social discipline are essential conditions for overcoming the crisis. Nothing can be done if there is a general slackness, paralysis of administration, chaos, and lawlessness, and there is no way of satisfying the most basic needs of society. We convinced ourselves most strongly of this before December 1981. We must not forget these experiences, and we must constantly draw new conclusions from them.

The wave of counterrevolutionary anarchy has been repelled and broken, but its effects have remained. A period in which there was hostility toward the socialist state, disobedience of the law, and a disrespect for state bodies had to bear prison fruit. The extent of social pathology, which was already wide, became even wider, covering speculation, breaches of work discipline, parasitism, alcoholism, and drug addiction. The period of anarchy was followed by a growth in crime, typical of crisis situations. The number of criminal proceedings in 1981 was over 33 percent higher than in the previous year. The boldness of brutality of perpetrators grew, and their degree of organization increased considerably. At the same time, it became less possible for law enforcement bodies to protect the legal order, because they had to concentrate on guaranteeing elementary order in public places by counteracting illegal gatherings, scuffles, and hostile actions aimed at the basis of the constitutional system.

It is sometimes said that too many laws and rules make it difficult for citizens to live according to the law. It is true that the publication of new documents and rules must be spread over time. New rules are slow to take root in the minds of society. However, the problem is that the most frequent targets of attack are the elementary values which have been legally protected for a long time, sometimes since the dawn of mankind.

Most crimes are directed against public and private property, often the fruit of an entire lifetime of work and savings. Some of these crimes continue to display a growth trend, for example assault, and burglaries of private premises. There is still hooligan behavior, speculation, and tax evasion. Alcoholism remains a dangerous social plague. Social parasitism has not been fully stamped out either.

We have commenced a determined struggle against these phenomena. The Council of Ministers Committee for the Observance of the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline has been created to coordinate the actions of law enforcement bodies. The effects of this decision are considerable and the results tangible. The sources and signs of pathology and all forms of crime are being attacked more boldly and effectively. Initiatives and nationwide actions, such as the disciplinary operation carried out within rail and road transportation and in the liquid fuel economy with the help of the transportation ministry; the operation carried in industrial premises, retail outlets, and public buildings with the help of the Ministry of Administration and Land Utilization; and the continuing control operation in selected sectors of the private economy carried out with the help of fiscal control bodies and prosecutors, have met with wide social support and approval.

Apart from Citizens Militia functionaries, members of the Voluntary Citizens Militia Reserve, Polish Army soldiers, and control officials from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, social activists are participating more and more widely in these operations. These actions and similar ones will be continued.

The committee is devoting a lot of attention to the broad problem of revealing the sources and causes of incorrect management, including waste. Antispeculation operations are continuing under the committee's supervision. They are being coordinated all the time by a special government body--the Central Commission for the Battle Against Speculation. Amendments to some laws have been worked out, for example the penal code, in order to accelerate criminal procedure, introduce harsher sanctions for some of the most frequent common offenses, and guarantee greater security and order on the railroad. An amendment is also being worked out for the law on premises, designed to protect their contents better. These drafts have been submitted for consultation, which has shown that the proposed solutions conform to the feelings of society, which is demanding harsher sanctions against perpetrators.

Joint activity between the peacekeeping forces, investigation bodies, and judicial bodies is being perfected. Right now they are acting on a more cohesive and compact front. This has been achieved, among other things, by various coordinating activities at central and voivodship level. The problem of law and order has also been examined at voivodship defense committee sessions and at larger meetings of people's council presidiums.

As a result of the comprehensive activity in recent times, the proportion of crimes solved is growing. The work of investigating bodies is becoming more effective. More favorable trends have arisen concerning the combatting of common crimes. The growth rate of criminal offenses has fallen. Economic offenses are being revealed more successfully. The number of burglaries in

public buildings has fallen. Tax evasion, foreign currency dealings, and corruption are being combatted more energetically. Order has been restored in public places. Normal conditions for the national economy's functioning have been guaranteed. The task of law enforcement bodies is to perpetuate these trends. More energetic investigations by prosecutor's offices, a speeding up and sharpening of criminal sanctions, the consistent application of sentences, and the publication of information about crimes and sentences all play an important role.

Society's acceptance for the work of the law enforcement bodies and its readiness to take part in control and disciplinary operations is growing. Glaring breaches of the law and public order are encountering more frequent energetic reaction from society.

The experiences and conclusions gained from recent years justify the elaboration of a report on the state of crime and on the factors causing it. The greatest experts on the problem should take part in this. The report should be presented for social discussion, which would increase its value and would be an important contribution to citizens legal education. The conclusions from this report will be a basis for working out a long-term government program for combatting pathology and crime and improving penal and resocialization policy.

Sociopolitical stabilization and symptoms of improvements in public order and security were the primary reasons for the amnesty, by which over 330,000 perpetrators of lesser common crimes have benefited and which provided for over 30,000 criminals an opportunity to return to normal life. These people were granted complete or partial remissions of their punishments of imprisonment and were given post-release help. Have all of them been able to appreciate this magnanimous gesture by the state? There has been no lack of reports that crimes have been committed--assaults, brawls, and robberies--within days and even hours of release from prison. Up to now, about 700 out of the more than 330,000 amnestied persons have returned to crime. This negligible number has confirmed the correctness of the magnanimous decision of the socialist state.

The amnesty was also granted to the people who had committed acts against our political system. The people include persons who lost their bearings and were led astray by the activities of the forces that are hostile to socialism. We have stretched our hands out to these people and we want them to constructively participate in social life within the framework of our political system and legal order. However, some of them do not intend to give up their antistate and antisocialist activities as attested to by their conduct since leaving their penitentiaries.

Guided by the principles of socialist humanism, for many persons we have created opportunities to return to normal life, but this gesture does not relieve us of the duty to combat common crimes as well as those directed against state security. The people who pooh-pooh the benefits of the amnesty must expect the law to be applied to them accordingly. The rule of law makes it necessary to ensure that all kinds of crimes are detected and prosecuted and that their perpetrators are suitably punished.

The development of the climate of law and order and of the conviction that no crime can be left unpunished and no perpetrator can be left unmolested are indispensable elements of the socialist social conditions. However, this task is impossible to implement if it is left to the exclusive devices of the state bodies. The party appeals to all citizens and to all people of goodwill and mindful of the affairs of society that it needs a broad action front against social plagues, waste, and crime. All organizations of the working people, trade unions, and all kinds of workers self-government bodies must wage a resolute struggle against social plagues, waste, and crime. Lawlessness must give place to the rule of law and justice.

The party attaches great importance to the working people's participation in the administration of justice and in settling disputes among our citizens. We have in mind primarily the institution of people's lay assessors, who are in fact social judges and, together with professional judges, give verdicts on matters tried by general and military courts. The institution of social curators and guardians is also of great importance. The social courts, which have developed primarily in the shape of social conciliation commissions, which cooperate with self-government organizations of urban and rural inhabitants, are very important as well. These social courts not only relieve general courts by trying petty matters, but also play an important role in fostering social atmosphere and attitudes. By virtue of their authority they are able to prevent many conflicts, eliminating their potential sources. We should create conditions to help increase the activity of social courts. All bodies concerned with law and order should be aware of the fact that these courts are their valuable allies. The newly elected self-government bodies of inhabitants should extensively avail themselves of the valuable experience gained by the previous self-government bodies when dealing with the social courts.

Respect for the laws is a crucial element of civic attitudes and makes it necessary for citizens to have a knowledge of law, to accept its norms, to submit to its decisions, to oppose violations of it, and to encourage others to do so.

Legal awareness is an integral part of society's political culture and legal education is an important stream of general civic education. In line with the Politburo decision, a cohesive and comprehensive program of training in the spirit of respect for law and for the principles of life in society should be formulated as soon as possible. This training must begin at the tenderest years in all spheres of education and upbringing and should be backed by the activity of the party, the allied parties, social organizations, legal communities, the mass media, and the centers whose task is to propagate knowledge.

Chapter VII. Elections to the Sejm

The elections to the Sejm of the PPR will be held next year and should become a social review of the present implementation of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions with regard to overcoming our crisis in the political, social, and psychological spheres.

The election campaign and the elections themselves will be a point of focus of all the streams of work to strengthen the state, to develop people's rule, and to intensify the rule of law, social order, and civic discipline.

They will constitute a great test for the patriotic forces and a special measure of the progress made in the cause of rational agreement, of overcoming our difficulties, and of socialist renewal and will become a plane of struggle for the further development of socialist democracy and for one's responsible attitude toward the socialist state and toward one's duties vis-a-vis this state.

Our party's election program consists primarily in the efforts to make credible and confirm the continuity and unchangeability of the Ninth Party Congress line and its consistent implementation. This will be done with the help of the largest possible number of wise decisions and effective actions. Our party's election program also consists of the implementation--under new conditions--of the ever valid slogan put forward by the 12th Central Committee Plenum: "More Agreement and More Struggle!"

The political-legal structure of the system of socialist democracy has been enlarged and incomparably more extensive opportunities for its development have been created. The most important and decisive issue now is to see that the laws we adopt are given a practical meaning by active daily social participation and civic militancy in their implementation. This participation and militancy should be given a particular expression in the activities of the new people's councils. Let us do all we can to accelerate the processes by which these councils can master their political role and to ensure genuineness and effectiveness of their activity and perseverance in solving people's problems.

Efforts to ensure that workers self-government bodies and other self-government bodies concerned with government and economic management do their work along correct lines are some of the main activities of the party. We will do our best to ensure that people want, respect, and like self-government bodies and that their initiatives are of good service for the interests of their particular enterprises and communities as well as of all the people.

Our socialist democracy is by its nature a democracy of the working people and of millions and millions of our citizens. That is why the centre of gravity of the practice of people's rule should be moved closer to the primary line of life and work of the workers class and all social communities.

We must persevere in improving the performance of our administration, the relations between officials and citizens, and the manner in which services are provided for the people. There is much still to be done in this regard, and many urgent and difficult tasks are waiting to be solved.

What is decisive is an efficient organization of implementing programs and resolutions, consistent checks on the implementation of decisions, and efforts to ensure that effective activities and specific results are implemented. The quality of various organizations and the value of the people who determine

their performance can be tested only during practical implementation of tasks. Effective and exacting control checks are a basic factor in the struggle against all kinds of evil. Our program of control checks is very extensive. It is the duty of the party--all its cells and members--to actively support this program, to lead in making control checks, and to rally all the people who condemn violations of the laws, the principles of community life, and moral norms.

In our political and organizational work we must make efforts to get in touch to an ever increasing extent with those who are undecided and who are still unable to find themselves and continue to stand aside. We must convince them by words and primarily by deeds--deeds are the best method--that the party offers stability, security, progress, and renewal and that it is the chief center of cordial and wise solicitude for the working people and the good of our socialist fatherland.

It is from this angle that we should intensify the entire system of our daily dialogue with the people--the system of information, agitation, propaganda, and contributions in the form of positive presentation of our goals, tasks, models, and experience and in the form of struggle against ignorance, disorientation, and our adversary's concepts and slogans.

It is necessary to rapidly propagate the 17th plenum materials and to forge them into specific action programs for party cells and organizations in the entire area in which social practice and civic attitudes is being promoted. We must do this in a way worthy of the Poland that is governable, democratic, and just and of the government of the people who are organized in their own socialist state, "in which the masses know about everything, are able to judge everything, and are conscious of all their actions."

CSO: 2600/114

GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT CRITICIZED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by "ok": "Polish Voices About the GDR--Satisfaction Over Cancellation of Honecker's Trip to Bonn"]

[Text] A number of Poles of quite varied political convictions have shown unmistakable schadenfreude at Honecker's probably not quite voluntarily cancellation of his planned journey to Bonn. Utterances by the East German communist leader about the cancellation of the inter-German encounter are being carefully noted and are served to the Polish public without comment. On the other hand, the Jaruzelski regime is pursuing a strategy of embrace vis-a-vis Honecker. On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the Polish Government dispatched a highly representative delegation to East Berlin, headed by the second-ranking man in the party hierarchy, Barcikowski. Concentrating on Gromyko, the East German communists, however, apparently paid hardly any attention to this Polish array.

Comments on the Occasion of the GDR Anniversary

The Polish media paid a great deal of attention to the GDR anniversary. In an interview broadcast by Radio Warsaw, the Sejm deputy and expert on Germany Edmund Meclwcki said that "if there were no GDR, one would have to invent it." A number of commentaries also touched on the question of German reunification. While forgoing the recently overworked thesis of a renaissance of "pan-German trends," they pointed out that a united Germany had twice unleashed a world war. Polish observers of the German anniversary also agreed that the existence of two German states was of great importance for maintaining the present balance of forces and for preserving peace in Europe. Only thus was it possible to protect from a catastrophe the European state system created after World War II on the basis of Yalta and Potsdam. The existence of two German states accordingly was indispensable for the international stability of the continent.

International law expert Gelberg expressed similar opinions in a Warsaw weekly. He said that the question of reunification must not be left exclusively to the Germans in both republics. All neighbors of Germany--those in its immediate proximity and the more distant ones in east and west, and also in north and south, had a genuine interest in having a say in the search for

a solution of the German question. Gelberg assumes that the idea of reunification is rejected more or less openly by most neighbors of Germany. This, he says, is a result of past experience; both German republics occupy a crucial position in stabilizing European peace.

Some Polish papers continue to deal with the canceled visit by Honecker to the Federal Republic. The legal weekly LAW AND LIFE asks on its front page, "Why did Honecker not go to the Federal Republic?" and replies with the involved thesis that the visit had been approached thoughtlessly and naively. All preparations for the trip had been made as if the cohesion of the socialist countries did not exist any longer. In this field, no one must risk too much lest he meet with "unpleasant surprises." Primarily, however, the commentaries put the blame for the cancellation of the Honecker visit on Bonn--including the FRG press, which is said to have shown a lack of refined sensitivity in such a delicate question. Bonn is also accused of having wanted to play the socialist countries off against one another in the question of the Honecker visit.

No German 'Island of Detente'

Even harsher are the utterances of the well-known expert on Germany Julian Bartosz. In an essay on basic principles in the Warsaw weekly PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY entitled "Grand Illusions for Small Projects," he points on the one hand to the continuity of Bonn's Ostpolitik, which is guided today the same principles as under Chancellors Brandt and Schmidt. On the other hand, without mentioning him by name, he indirectly charges Honecker with naivete. Those, he says, who despite the stationing of U.S. missiles in West Germany had thought that one could forget military realities and turn Germany into an "island of detente," a kind of New Zealand now must realize that a real policy is possible only within the whole coalition of the socialist states. In conclusion the writer demands that the Eastern bloc pass a new package of principles in the German question. In this connection the Polish press also sent signals in the direction of Bucharest--to the effect that Ceausescu should follow the example of Honecker and Zhivkov and forgo his visit to Bonn this month.

8790

CSO: 2300/64

POLAND

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH CUBAN DELEGATION--A Cuban delegation headed by Minister Irma Sanchez Valdes, chairman of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply, visited Warsaw from 1 to 2 October and held talks with Jerzy Wozniak, PPR minister of materials management. The Cuban delegation acquainted itself with Poland's experience in the materials economy and in implementing austerity programs. A program of cooperation for the years 1985-90 between the PPR Office of Materials Management and the Cuban State Committee for Material and Technical Supply was also agreed on. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Oct 84 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2600/120

SETINC DISCUSSES ROLE OF SLOVENIAN SAWP, LIBERAL VIEWS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Oct 84 p 9

[Interview with Franc Setinc, president of the Slovenia SAWP Conference and member of the Slovenian LC CC Presidium]

[Excerpts] In this discussion with Franc Setinc we have expanded our theme, "The Party and the Intelligentsia" to "Creative Thought and Dialogue Within the SAWP."

Some of the political professionals and functionaries [in SAWP] say that they have to do everything themselves... because others avoid concrete tasks.

[S.] They themselves are most often to blame for such a situation. Often certain political professionals want political work to develop in the way they have conceived it. As a result very little room is left for the initiatives of others, faint-heartedness and lack of interest at meetings appears, and the belief is enforced that it does not pay to go to meetings since "everything has been decided in advance."

[But these] weaknesses are decreasing. Many forms of SAWP work have been recognized as a broad open area for the creative action of all people who are committed to socialist self-management yet see certain practical questions differently, and suggest alternative solutions. The attempt is made, despite differing views, to find the best solution to individual questions.

We support social dialogue which develops according to the rules of socialist self-management democracy which excludes the struggle for power, monopoly, privilege, and recognition, and cultivates the search for the most acceptable solutions among equal peoples....

[BORBA] Do communists also have a place and responsibility in such a dialogue?

[S.] Of course, but only as equal participants whose only advantage is the extent to which they know the social situation and laws of social development better.... It is not enough to know passively the conclusions of party forums but they must also understand, consciously master [problems, facts, etc], and make themselves capable, in order to convince nonparty members of their correctness.

[BORBA] The large majority of our people, although they are not LC members, are consciously and selflessly struggling for socialist self-management. At the same time, LC members dominate the SAWP leadership.

[S.] In Slovenia we have made an advance in this regard, although we are not yet entirely satisfied. Above all, we are not satisfied with some [SAWP] sections which are not adequately open so that some people seek answers to certain questions and dilemmas outside these SAWP sections, for instance, in the form of open letters, petitions, semi-legal "round tables," etc. In most cases these are not enemies of our social order or political manipulators....

[BORBA] Why are the current ideological and political dilemmas and tendencies (ultra-leftism, rightism, clericalism, etatism, nationalism, etc) rarely and insufficiently discussed in the SAWP and are such questions still considered to be the exclusive jurisdiction of the LC?

[S.] If such a division [of tasks] existed between the LC and the SAWP, a certain partnership or transmission relationship would exist between them, i.e., one in authority, the subordinate. Such a division does not exist and everything that is happening in life is inevitably manifested in the SAWP....

It is better if [unacceptable] aspirations are expressed within... the SAWP rather than outside of it and this should not be considered as something bad or evil. It is bad if they are not publicly confronted and if we do not know how to oppose them with the force of argument. ...In Slovenia, for instance, there is quite a bit of criticism of certain articles in NOVA REVIJA which are intended to discredit Marxism and the LC, especially the leading role of the LC in society... using the well-known method of... distorting the truth. In this case we would be far more successful in dealing with such orientations if these were more critically discussed in the editorial board of NOVA REVIJA, in the cultural council within SAWP, etc....

[BORBA] You mentioned only NOVA REVIJA, but what about some youth information media in which quite severe criticism is also shown?

[S.] Also these media of course must experience argued criticism of their provocations, the "shock method," and "kicks" in publishing councils, within the leaderships of their founders, etc. Such criticism is especially necessary when assessing how the programmatic concept of these media is being implemented... and what digressions are being made and why.... One should discuss these questions when funds are being distributed for these media and when personnel decisions are to be made, etc.

[BORBA] Are there, and to what degree, basic objections made by some members of the youth leadership that SAWP does not adequately deal with their suggestions and views (for instance, in connection with the Law on Military Service) and that some opstina leaders of the LC and SAWP have a paternalistic relation toward the youth organization (e.g., in cadre policy, etc.)?

[S.] This question... deserves wider elucidation... but it is a positive sign that such discussion has occurred, since this is a guarantee perhaps that youth organization delegates will be more active in various forms of SAWP work, as has not been the case up to now....

[BORBA] Does this mean that basically the objections by the youth leadership are well-founded?

[S.] Some criticism, although not entirely well-founded and based on argument, nevertheless has contributed to affirming SAWP as the front [organization] and this is what is positive and encouraging.

[BORBA] How would you assess and to what degree do you think them well-founded the objections from some other republics and from some individuals in Slovenia such as Josip Vidmar, Joze Javorsek, that the Slovenian leadership has a "liberal" attitude toward some ideological deviations (e.g., articles in NOVA REVIJA, etc.)?

[S.] First, we would have to clear up what one means by "liberal"? I do not believe that such a characterization is merited by our firm orientation toward democratic and argued confrontation, toward the widest social dialogue, and our efforts to avoid wherever possible administrative and repressive measures.

[BORBA] Does this mean that in this case in general one cannot speak about any kind of "liberalism?"

[S.] It is a fact that not one political leadership in Slovenia has had a "liberal" relation toward negative ideological manifestations and deviations. There are numerous documents and views by these leaderships about this. It is another question, of course, whether in every case there has been adequate and concrete confrontation, when criticism by leaderships has not been adequate, but it is necessary that such a dialogue, strict and decisive in content, and dramatic in form, include individual creators [writers, artists, etc], Marxists, cultural workers, politicians, and others.

There are many such confrontations, but nevertheless not enough, and sometimes the impression is, in fact, created that the socialist forces are not always in the offensive or that they are even on the defensive to some degree. But this "deficit" which is characteristic for all areas in Yugoslavia cannot be made up by communiques from political leaders regardless of all the severity of verbal criticism against certain negative occurrences and deviations.

[BORBA] What is the actual influence of [liberal] manifestations and orientations...?

[S.] Much less than would appear.... There are individuals who distinguish themselves by attacking the leading role of the LC and to whom certain Yugoslav regions attribute far more importance than they actually have in their own area, that is, in Slovenia; and this gives them publicity which is not in proportion to their actual social influence. For instance, we have journals with far more progressive social influence in Slovenia and which are not at all as noisy as those which are constantly chewing over old, long-outdated ideas and ideologies.

Far more attention should be given to the fact that some opponents (dissidents) for whom the LC is a thorn in the side, have quite firmly settled down in some places (publishing organizations, editorial boards, institutions, even in some

faculties) and are acting in a very clan-like way and favoring only those individuals and groups which are very close to them "philosophically" or ideologically speaking....

There is also something else: Individuals are coming forward as "tutors," as some kind of guardian angels who think that only they have the true measure as to what is liberal and what is hostile. If in every republic and province the socialist forces... would be active, then there would be very little use for such guardian angels.

Those who are raising some kind of dilemma as to whether we in Yugoslavia are more nationalist/separatists or nationalist/unitarists, whether we are turning more left or right, more in the direction of a multi-party system or nearer to real socialism, should ask: Whose dilemma is this? It is not ours. When I say ours, I mean the majority of the working people in Slovenia and throughout the SFRY who do not accept such dilemmas because for them only one road exists, that of socialist self-management, non-alignment, and independence, as the only guarantee of our independent road in the future, the achieving of the principles on which Tito's Yugoslavia is based.

[BORBA] One often hears criticism that there is very little direct cooperation and dialogue between creators [of works] in our republics and provinces and that this cooperation is largely developing via republic-provincial forums, that it is burdened by "keys," and parities [paritetima], etc. What can and should SAWP do, not only in Slovenia but throughout the country, to eliminate these and other obstacles?

[S.] Such cooperation is, in fact, very small. For some only cooperation which is assisted by federal organs--if possible, administration organs--is acceptable. But Tito and Kardelj always stressed that in our type of federation we must create a wide free area for all forms of free and equal cooperation. Keys and parities should be applied only where the Constitution envisions this, while for all forms of cooperation (professional, scientific, artistic, and cultural) the criteria of quality and equality, brotherhood and unity, not in the form of empty slogans but in creativity, in daily work and life,-- must be valid.

[BORBA] At the last Slovenian LC CC meeting you criticized a 20 September article in BORBA which warned that in cutting party connections on the LCY level an etatistic consciousness was strengthened in the [republic, provincial] parts of the LCY and so it is not surprising that the republic and provincial organs and their leaders have acted like "parties in power" who... along with "their" state attainments and actions have brought confusion at certain times into the economic life of Yugoslavia... and made the political circumstances even more complicated and dangerous and that this logic has led to the fact that the party base is more and more occupied with the dilemma of whether communists are members of one unified revolutionary organization or members of political parties within a coalition?

[S.] I could bring out even more such "pearls" from our press. The question is whom and what is served by sowing ideological confusion. There is still

quite a bit of nationalism in all its forms, including also unitarism. But this gives no one the right to ask whether we communists are still members of a unified revolutionary organization or whether we have already become a coalition of national, i.e., republic and provincial, parties. When and what is served by opening up a discussion about confederation for which conditions do not exist under our circumstances? (Such discussions act only as provocation, speculation, and serious disruption in internationality relations.) It is as if one wants to bring pressure or create a hysterical situation and misuse the feelings of people for the joint destiny of our peoples and nationalities. Whose ideal is uniformity when... we have always fought for unity in variety and when we are throwing out the thesis of monolithism and uniformity?...

CSO: 2800/70

END